

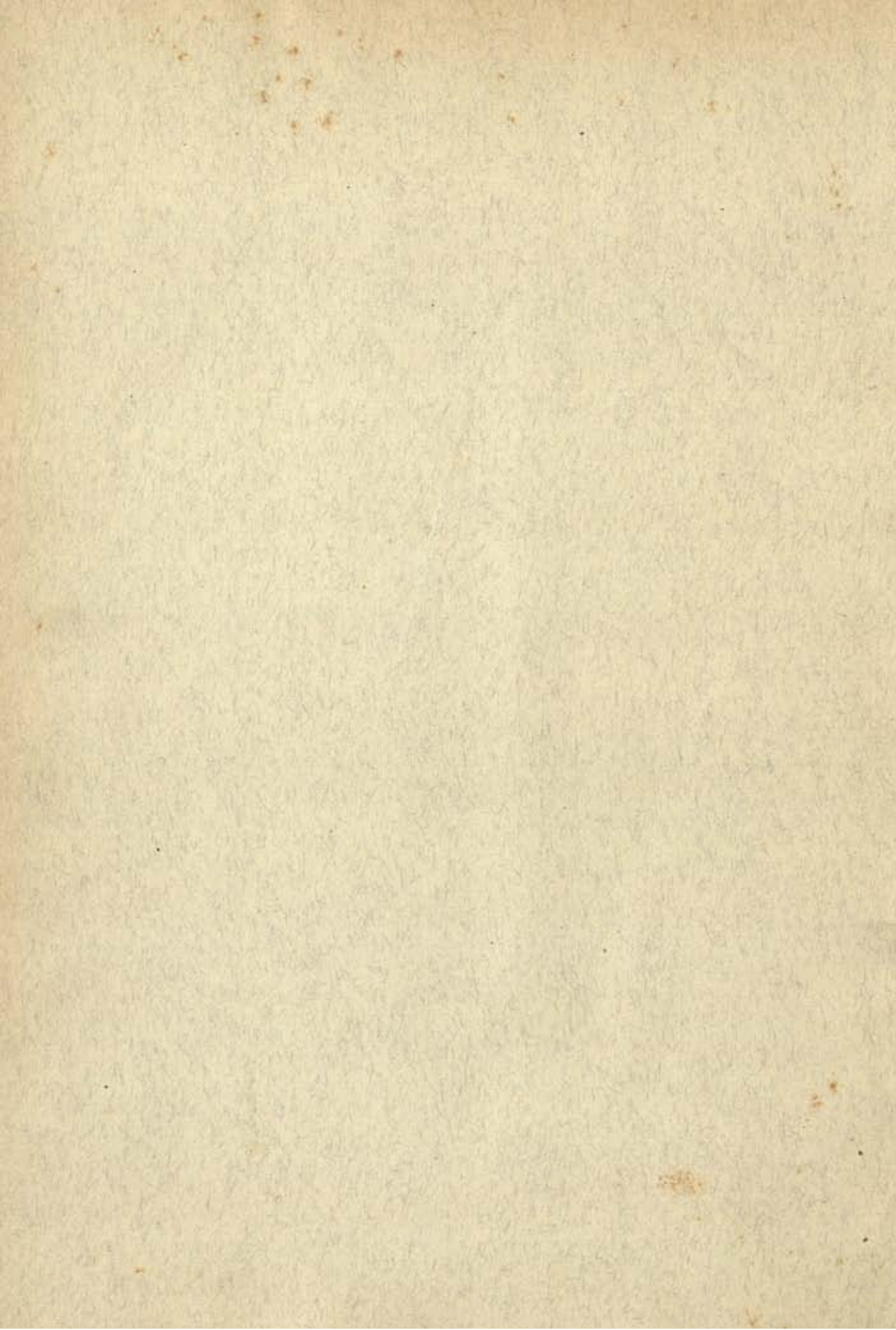
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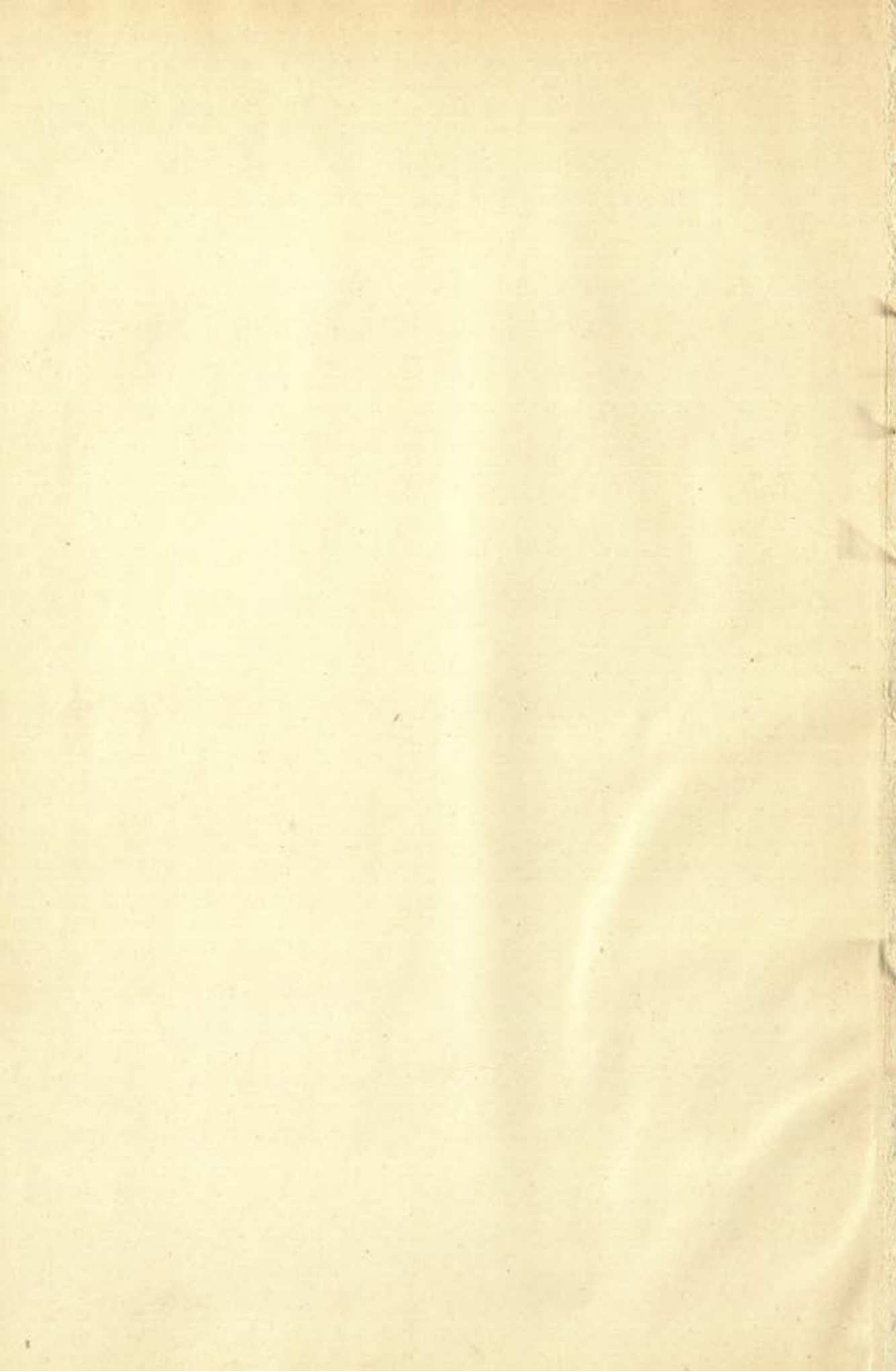


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THE JOURNAL OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

x



12, 117, 6

THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME LXII

1942



32970

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PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE
PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES AND SOLD ON THEIR
BEHALF BY MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED, ST. MARTIN'S
STREET, LONDON, W.C.2

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MEETINGS

OF THE SESSION 1941-1942

The Inaugural Meeting of the Session was held on November 4th, 1941, at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, members of the Oxford Philological Society and the Oxford branch of the Classical Association being invited to attend. Professor Sir John Myres delivered a memorial address on 'The Life and Work of Sir Arthur Evans,' before a crowded audience, with Sir Richard Livingstone in the chair. This lecture has since been published, with some additions, in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxvii.

A vote of thanks was proposed by the Chairman, who mentioned that this was, appropriately, the first lecture to be given in the Ashmolean since the death of Sir Arthur Evans, and, doubly appropriately, in the very hall which held his books bequeathed to the Museum. It was fitting that this should have been delivered by Prof. Myres, who had been so closely associated with his life and work. The proposal was seconded by Prof. Dawkins, another close friend of Evans, and was enthusiastically applauded.

The Second General Meeting was held on February 3rd, 1942, at the Literary Lecture Rooms in Cambridge, in association with the Cambridge University Classical Society and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Prof. E. H. Minns read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on 'Greek Plate from East European Hoards.' He showed photographs of three collections of Byzantine Plate, the first of which was found in Western Siberia and at one time owned by Peter the Great. The second hoard came from Rumania, and is now in Moscow. It contained among other objects of minor interest a dish inscribed with the X-P monogram. The fine design round its rim had been later overlaid with gold medallions. The third hoard also came from Rumania, and is now in Moscow. It consisted of 23 gold pieces, one of them bearing a Turkish inscription in Greek lettering. There was also a Greek inscription, rather badly executed, which Prof. Minns believes to have been originally written in ink upon the gold surface.

The President, who was in the chair, expressed the warm thanks of the society for Prof. Minns' paper, which had given great pleasure.

A Third General Meeting was held on Tuesday, May 5th, 1942, at Burlington House, where Mr. C. T. Seltman read a paper, illustrated with lantern slides, on 'Greek Sculpture and some Festival Coins.' This paper is to be published in a later volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. The President was in the chair, and Dr. Bell's proposal of the vote of thanks was loudly applauded.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on June 23rd, 1942, with the President, Dr. Pickard-Cambridge, in the chair. The adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts was moved by the Chairman and seconded by Sir John Forsdyke. The re-election of the Vice-Presidents and the election of an Honorary Member and ten new members of the Council,

as detailed in the Annual Report, were seconded by Mr. Seltman. Mr. L. Wharton proposed, and Miss A. Woodward seconded, the re-election of Mr. C. T. Edge as Auditor.

The President began his address with an explanation of his choice of subject. When he edited, in 1907, the third edition of Haigh's 'Attic Theatre,' he retained much which had already become doubtful, and which he now no longer believed. He hoped to produce a substitute for that book, but in case this became impossible he wished to make a formal recantation now. In particular he no longer maintained the view, formerly upheld by Haigh and most English scholars, that the actors of the fifth century performed in high boots on a raised stage.

Again, there had been no summary of the present state of our knowledge, in English, since 1907. Even Flickinger's useful outline, published in 1936, could not take into account the full publication of Fiechter's excavations later in that year. Before the appearance of Fiechter's volume on Athens, Bulle's book, covering a number of theatres and issued in 1928, had shown what minute investigation and precise drawing could do. Such works have superseded Prof. Turney Allen's little book, which is still useful, however, for its discussions of minor problems. Discussion among German scholars relating to the Greek theatre has left few questions as they were forty years ago, but it has restored to a great extent the credit of Dörpfeld's solutions of 1896, with much added to them.

Only a brief outline could now be given of the history of the Greek theatre to the end of the fifth century. The oldest building of which traces remain within the precinct of Dionysus Eleuthereus, is the older temple of Dionysus, whose polygonal masonry goes well back into the sixth century, and may have been built, perhaps by Peisistratos, to receive the *χορεύων* from Eleutherae. The first provision for lyric and dramatic performances must have consisted of an orchestra levelled in the hillside precinct of this temple. Only six stones now remain—the base of a supporting wall—and Dörpfeld and practically all other investigators of the present century, believed them to form part of a circle of dimensions similar to that of the later orchestra within the lowest tier of seats of the fourth-century theatre, but slightly to the S.S.E. of it. The fragment of a wall farther along the arc of the supposed circle was thought by Dörpfeld to confirm this, but subsequent examination showed this fragment to be of material and masonry different from the six stones, and in fact the section of a straight line. A supposed cutting in the rock, which Dörpfeld believed to form part of the circumference of the orchestra, has no clear direction nor plainly formed sides. Even the six stones do not lie in the position of a regular segment of a circle. Such a wall would in any case have allowed no space outside the circle for actors, if any. Dörpfeld and his American followers later abandoned this hypothetical earliest orchestra.

The six stones probably formed part of a terrace on which, at a little distance inwards, the first circular

orchestra lay, probably of the dimensions, not of the circle bounded by the lowest tier of seats, but of the actual dancing ground lying in a line from north to south which was determined by the conformation of the hillside, and itself probably determined at a later date the position of the centre of the stage buildings. Where the six stones lie, the terrace must have been curved.

Any stage buildings in the first third of the fifth century would have been temporary, and in fact the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus requires no stage, but only an altar. The next two extant plays of Aeschylus could still have been performed against a plain house front with a door, and even the latest required only what could have been provided for the particular occasion. The spectators apparently first stood on the terrace, or sat or stood on the sloping ground above. Wooden seats supported on stands were presumably in use for some time before the accident in the early century which led to the erection of earthen banks, still early, as Dörpfeld's excavations show. Any supporting walls would have disappeared when a larger and steeper auditorium was built in the middle of the century. This was closely connected with Pericles' Odeum. The new plan entailed the removal of the whole scene of the dramatic performances slightly northwards. It was probably not moved so far as the site of the present day orchestra, but sufficiently for the actors to perform and to allow for scenery. Until recently, archaeologists thought the date of this reconstruction to be post-Periclean, because the foundations were of conglomerate. Dörpfeld, however, had to retract this opinion, because conglomerate foundations had been found, which date to the beginning of the fifth century. The new temple of Dionysus, too, which was part of the complex of buildings, was almost certainly a fifth-century structure, since the last recorded work of Alcamenes, who made its statue, was executed in 403 B.C.

The President then touched upon various details of this Periclean structure: (1) The site of the Odeum, awaiting further excavation. (2) The walls of the auditorium, some of them with extant remains. The auditorium itself was still formed of earthen embankments upon which stood the wooden seats, the noise from which is mentioned in several existing texts. Fifth-century inscribed stones survive, which probably marked reserved seats before being built into the later reconstruction of the theatre. (3) The line of the new terrace wall, the remains of which are about 204 feet long, was broken by a solid foundation projecting northwards. This, when perfect, probably rose to the ground level, and an opening at the back was carried through the wall of the later hall, to which it must have given access by steps. In the surface of this projecting wall are two depressions, and there are eight vertical grooves in the north face of the terrace itself. Five were probably cut on either side of the projection, two having disappeared in some later construction. They were evidently intended to receive poles for the support of scenery and the depressions in the projecting wall probably served a similar purpose. Posts set in the grooves probably

stood free for use as framework for a painted back scene, while constructions over the cross wall behind may have worked machinery such as the *κοῦρην*, if and when it was used. The evidence adduced for the existence in the fifth century of the flanking projecting structures called the *παράσκηνα*, such as appear in the later stone theatre, is partly archaeological and partly derived from extant plays. The Tarentine krater showing Pelias and Jason, and the Campanian krater representing Iphigeneia with Orestes, belonging as they do to the second and third quarters of the fourth century in Italy, afford no evidence regarding the Athenian theatre of 100 or 60 years earlier. Several extant plays, however, present scenes suggesting the use of *παράσκηνα*, and their existence may be provisionally accepted.

Already in the time of Aeschylus, stage buildings must have been sufficiently solid to allow actors to appear on the roof, and the sockets in the terrace wall probably provided for the erection of stock sets.

Few scholars now believe in a raised stage between the *παράσκηνα*, since it has been made clear that a separation between actors and chorus was impossible. Haigh's suggestion even of a low stage, included in the third edition of his book, can no longer be accepted. While no scenes in extant fifth-century plays require a raised stage, there are many which would be ruined by its presence. The argument that without a raised stage, actors and chorus would be confused, is definitely refuted by the President's personal experience of the performance of the *Rhesus* at New College. In his judgment there was no raised stage so long as choral tragedy was the most important part of the Dionysiac festival in Athens, though while the stage buildings were of wood, it might be customary to base palaces or temples on one or two steps, which would allow free movement to actors and chorus. The President believed that the high stage became permanent only when tragedy and the chorus lost their importance and the theatre was used for other purposes. This possibly happened first outside Athens, in towns which had no Odeum for their music and no Pnyx for their orators. Some general considerations also supported this view, especially the ritual origin of Attic tragedy, which gave the first importance to the chorus. The introduction of the three actors would not make a raised stage necessary. That would naturally come in when the performance changed from ritual to entertainment, and that again was more likely to happen outside Athens, at a time when theatres were built in great numbers after the middle of the fourth century, when the interest became concentrated on the actors, and on comedy.

A great part of the arguments which convinced Haigh and others of the existence of a raised stage in the fifth century, was in fact derived from late or non-Athenian buildings, and from texts based upon the knowledge of later theatres.

The President postponed the second half of his address until the following year. A vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. Bell and heartily applauded.

The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1941.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable	167 9 9	By Cash in Hand—	
" Subscriptions paid in advance	54 10 0	Bank	276 7 7
" Endowment Fund	2039 12 0	Assistant Treasurer	22 2 8
(includes legacy of £180 from the late Prof. P. Gardner, £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar, £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer, and £500 from the late Mr. G. A. Macmillan).		Petty Cash	40 19 6
" Life Compositions—		Deposit Account	300 0 0
Total at January 1, 1941	2156 14 0	Special Deposit Account (Donation from Arch. Inst. of America)	123 15 3
Received during year	— — —		763 5 0
	2156 14 0		164 14 5
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Members deceased	63 0 0		*2725 0 0
	2093 14 0		
" Surplus at January 1, 1941	1305 6 11		
Add Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	323 9 3		
	1628 16 2		
Surplus at December 31, 1941			
		Library Premises Capital Account—	
		Amount spent to date	5584 13 10
		Less Donations received	4699 11 4
			885 2 6
		Transferred to Income and Expenditure Account during past years	681 0 0
			204 2 6
		Now transferred	23 0 0
			181 2 6
		Estimated Valuation of Stocks of Publications	300 0 0
		" Valuation of Library	1500 0 0
		" Valuation of Photographic Department	200 0 0
		" Paper in hand for printing <i>Journal</i>	150 0 0
			2150 0 0
			£5984 1 11

* The Investments as at December 31, 1941, had a value of £3226.

The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

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<i>Expenditure.</i>			<i>Income.</i>		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Salaries.....	447	2 2	By Members' Subscriptions—		
" Pensions Insurance.....	16	0 0	Arrears.....	22	1 0
" Miscellaneous Expenses.....	112	12 8	1941.....	1083	13 6
" Stationery.....	10	5 11		1105	14 6
" Postage.....	46	15 1	Members' Entrance Fees.....	11	11 0
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, etc.....	64	4 8	" Student Associates' Subscriptions—		
" Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, Maintenance of Library Premises, etc.....	341	14 2	Arrears.....	5	15 6
(including second floor dilapidations and war damage repairs throughout).			1941.....	25	14 0
" Insurance—			Libraries' Subscriptions—		
General.....	24	18 4	Arrears.....	2	2 0
War Damage.....	198	16 8	1941.....	144	18 0
Less amounts recovered.....	107	10 9		147	0 0
" Grants—			Life Compositions brought into Revenue		
British School at Athens.....	10	0 0	Account.....	63	0 0
" " Rome.....	5	5 0	Dividends on Investments.....	114	13 10
Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account.....	15	5 0	Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies.....	275	0 0
Balance from Library Account.....	40	19 1	Sale of 'Ante Oculos'.....	2	0 0
Balance from Library Premises Account...	4	7 9	Sale of 'Artemis Orthia'.....	2	19 0
Balance.....	360	7 9	Miscellaneous Receipts.....	2	18 1
	323	9 3	Donations towards current expenses.....	7	19 11
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" Cost of printing Accessions Lists to the Library, and Slides Departments, less contribution from the Roman Society	3 8 9	- - -	12 0 0
	13 12 2	- - -	4 7 9
	<u>£23 14 1</u>	- - -	<u>£23 14 1</u>
LIBRARY PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1941.			
Rent	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Rates.....	402 12 6	- - -	20 0 0
Transferred from Balance Sheet—Proportion of Expenditure for Year	51 8 7	- - -	96 13 4
	23 0 0	- - -	360 7 9
	<u>£477 1 1</u>	- - -	<u>£477 1 1</u>

I have audited the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account and in my opinion the same exhibit a true and correct view of the Society's financial position according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

LONDON,
June 2, 1942.

CYRIL T. EDGE,
Chartered Accountant.

WAS THE IONIAN PHILOSOPHY SCIENTIFIC?

[This paper was prepared by the late Professor F. M. Cornford for the Joint Meeting of the Hellenic and Roman Societies held at Oxford in the summer of 1942. It was read there in his absence by Professor Gilbert Murray. To a suggestion that the paper should be published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Professor Cornford replied: "The paper is a very short (and not very convincing) summary of an argument which I am writing out at length in a book which I hope to publish when times are easier. I hoped to get some criticism and discussion, but not being well enough to attend, I did not gain much that way. Space in the *Journal* is too valuable to justify this sort of advanced patrol work being published as if it were a final statement with all the relevant evidence." After his lamented death, permission was obtained from Mrs. Cornford and from Mr. W. K. Guthrie, his literary executor, to publish the paper here with an explanation of its origin and intention.]

THIS paper is concerned with a problem which has puzzled me for many years. The Greek philosophers of the Ionian tradition, from Anaximander to Epicurus, are commonly called specially 'scientific,' in contrast with the Italian tradition started by Pythagoras. Why is it, then, that their systems are cast in the form of dogmatic pronouncements? It is not only that they describe, with complete confidence, matters beyond the reach of observation, such as the origin of the world; but when they come to matters of detail, they make assertions which could have been upset by a little careful observation or by the simplest experiment.

It has been argued—by Burnet, for instance—that this dogmatism may be only apparent. Our evidence is fragmentary, and comes largely from manuals compiled much later by men whose object was to discredit science for reaching contradictory conclusions, and by no means to record the methods employed to reach those conclusions. W. A. Heidel, too, thought that, if we possessed the philosophers' notebooks, we should find that their results were obtained by methods akin to those of modern science, though with less awareness of the need for caution in experimental tests. Behind these arguments lies the assumption that the questions they asked themselves, the motives prompting their inquiries, and the quarter to which they looked for the sources of knowledge, were the same then as now. This assumption is naturally made by most historians of science. Looking back at the past from our own standpoint, they are interested in those features of ancient thought—atomism, for example—which have proved fruitful in modern developments. The archaic features are ignored or dismissed as pardonable errors in the infancy of science. But if our aim is to regain the standpoint of ancient speculation, we cannot afford to discard all elements foreign to our own ways of thinking; any more than the historian of religion can afford to dismiss as 'superstitious fancies' beliefs and practices which the civilised world has outgrown. Rather we should fix attention on these strange features and try to recover the attitude of mind that will account for them.

We are asked to believe that these Ionian systems were based on observation; that hypotheses were then framed by rational inference from observed facts; and that, sometimes at least, these hypotheses were checked by experiment, though with insufficient caution. Let us recall a few of the philosophers' statements and consider whether they could have been founded on such methods.

(1) Anaximander coolly asserted that the distance of the sun from the earth is precisely three times that of the fixed stars, and that the stars' distance is nine times the diameter of the earth. The earth itself is a cylindrical drum, three times as broad as it is high.

(2) A main feature of Anaximenes' system was his reduction of differences of temperature to differences of density: the hotter, the thinner; the colder, the denser. Water is the only substance which can easily be seen passing into vapour when heated and becoming solid when cooled. When water turns to steam, it expands; when chilled into ice, it ought to contract into a smaller volume. But does it contract? If Anaximenes had put a jar of water outside his door on a frosty night, he might have observed that the water did not shrink when it turned into ice, but, on the contrary, split the jar. We may conclude that he never had recourse to this simple experiment. Nor is there any record of anyone testing his dogma in this obvious way.

(3) Empedocles explained respiration as a process whereby the warm air breathed out through the mouth is automatically replaced inside us by cold air drawn in through pores in the chest. Then the movement is reversed: the air inside, now heated, escapes through the same pores whereby it entered, and is replaced by cold air inhaled through the mouth. Plato adopts this theory. No one ever thought of sitting in a bath with the water up to his neck, to find out whether air bubbles could be observed passing through the water into his chest when he exhaled, and out again when he inhaled; and if not, whether his breathing was impeded.

Such tests would instantly suggest themselves today, not merely to a man of science, but to any sensible person. Why did they not occur to the ancient philosophers, even when they were contradicting one another's theories?

They were, moreover, equally dogmatic on questions beyond the reach of observation, let alone experiment. They announced, with the same assurance, that the ultimate constituents of material things were water, or air, or the four elements, or atoms; and they described the process whereby an ordered world had arisen out of these elements. None of them had witnessed the process, or had the faintest conception of any method for isolating an element. Yet they narrate the history of the world from such beginnings as if it had happened before their eyes. Plato, whom our modern materialists despise as hopelessly unscientific, was the one philosopher who told the truth about ancient physics, when he said that it could be no more than a 'plausible tale.' That is exactly what all these Ionian systems were—an *εἰκὼς μῦθος*.

I suggest that the key to our problem lies in a difference of attitude towards the question of the *sources of knowledge* or wisdom. And here some light comes to us from the protest against the methods of philosophy, raised by doctors of the Hippocratic school. In an admirable survey of Hippocratic medicine, Heidel has pointed out that, in the medical art, a procedure was evolved which does go some way towards the methods of modern science. Doctors began to keep careful records of symptoms in individual cases; and from these they advanced to generalisations, and even to the rudiments of experimental procedure. Nearly all the experiments recorded in ancient literature were made by doctors.

Heidel, however, drew no distinction between the methods of medical science and those of philosophy. Hence he assumed, like Burnet, that the philosophers applied to their problems the inchoate scientific procedure of the doctors, and reached many of their conclusions by observation and experiment of which no record remains. Here, I believe, he was mistaken. There was, from the nature of the case, a radical distinction, and even opposition, between medicine and philosophy, in the way they approached such problems as they had in common.

Medicine was, from the outset, a practical art; indeed, it was the only practical art which, in ancient times, was impelled by its own needs to develop a scientific method. The doctor is a healer (*ἰατρός*), a craftsman in the public service (*δημιουργός*), a hand-worker (*χειρουργός*) in surgery. He is always dealing with an individual patient, and always with a practical purpose—to cure that patient. Hence (unlike the philosopher, speculating about the origin of the world) he starts by noting the symptoms of a particular case, to find out what is wrong, and needs to be put right. The application of a remedy is based on a generalisation from accumulated experience—'This remedy has proved helpful in cases of this sort'—and it is experimental: 'Will it work in this case?' The doctor will be led on to speculate about the fundamental causes of disease and health. So at last he will arrive at the question of man's nature or bodily constitution—the elements and active or passive properties whose equilibrium needs to be restored by suitable treatment from outside.

Contrast with this procedure the route by which the philosopher approaches the nature of man. He starts with cosmogony. The questions implied (though they are answered rather than explicitly stated) are of this sort: What was the original state of things? What are the simplest constituents of all compound bodies? How can we give a natural explanation

of 'what goes on in the sky and under the earth'? How did life begin? From such speculations about the remotest origins of the world the philosopher arrived at accounts of the origin of plant, animal, and human life—accounts predetermined by doctrines already laid down as to the nature of the world as a whole. So, at the end, he came to the point where his theories impinged on the domain of medicine. The human body could only be composed of the same elements as all other bodies—water, or air, or the four elements, or atoms. The philosopher's 'physiological' theories (as we call them) were thus dictated by their cosmological dogmas; and they were ready to foist on the practical physician *a priori* accounts of the nature of health and disease.

The characteristic reaction of the scientific doctor is vigorously expressed in the treatise on *Ancient Medicine*. The author (who may be Hippocrates himself) attacks all writers on medicine who start from a groundless postulate or assumption, such as that all diseases are caused by 'heat or cold or moisture or whatever else they may fancy.' Such postulates, he says, may be inevitable in dealing with 'problems beyond the reach of observation' (τὰ ἀφανέα τε καὶ ἀππορεύμενα), such as 'what goes on in the sky or under the earth.' There is no means of testing the truth of assertions made in this field. But medicine has long had a different principle and method of its own, securely based on discovered facts, which must be taken as the starting-point for further discovery. Philosophers like Empedocles have written about the nature of things, how man came into being at the first, and of what elements he was constructed. All this has no more to do with medicine than with painting. Man's nature can be ascertained only by discovering his reactions to food and drink and the effect of habits in general on each individual. These effects will differ from one individual to another. We must start with the observation of particular cases.

The contrast could not be more clearly expressed. The philosopher descends from above to deduce the nature of man from unproved postulates; the physician builds up his doctrine from below, generalising from particular observed facts.

My next point is that these two opposite approaches—the *a priori* approach of the philosopher and the empirical approach of the physician—are reflected in two opposite accounts of the sources of knowledge or wisdom.

The empirical account is set forth by Aristotle,¹ himself the son of a practising physician. It starts with the *senses*. In the higher animals sensation gives rise to *memory*. In man repeated memories of the same thing result in a unified *experience*: 'This remedy benefited Callias in this disease, and also Socrates, and so on in many cases.' We then advance to the *generalisation*: 'This remedy is good for all phlegmatic temperaments in burning fever.' Such generalisations constitute *Art*. For practical purposes experience may be sufficient, because the physician is curing not 'man' in general, but some individual who 'happens to be a man.' On the other hand, we associate knowledge or wisdom rather with art than with mere experience, which knows only the fact, not the reason. *Knowledge* in the full sense comes last, with the understanding of causes.

It is not for nothing that Aristotle's illustrations are all taken from the art of medicine. This empirical theory of knowledge had already been mentioned by Plato as having interested Socrates in his young days. Its author, in fact, was none other than the physician Alcmaeon of the early fifth century, who taught that man is distinguished from the animals by possessing understanding as well as sensation; that our sense-perceptions are centred in the brain; and that from them arise *memory*, *judgment* (or belief), and finally *knowledge*. Alcmaeon even tried, by dissection, to trace the 'pores' leading from the sense organs to the brain.

Here, then, in the practical art of medicine, we find the root of empirical epistemology—the idea that the senses are the ultimate source of knowledge, of that understanding which distinguishes man from the animals. There is no earlier trace of this view of knowledge. It was formulated when the doctors, under the influence of Ionian rationalism, were freeing

¹ *Ar. Met.*, A1.

their art from its magical phase and reflecting upon the procedure they actually followed in the successful advance of discovery.

If this view is correct, the first steps towards inductive science, as understood since the Renaissance, were taken by the physicians, in opposition to the philosophers. The medical art, moreover, was the only art known in antiquity that was impelled to formulate a method based on observation and rudimentary experiment. It thus became the only 'natural science' (in our sense) that existed before Aristotle. When Aristotle set his three pupils, Theophrastus, Eudemus, and Meno, to write the history of earlier thought, he divided the field into (1) Metaphysics and Natural philosophy, (2) Mathematics, and (3) Medicine. He felt, it would seem, the force of the Hippocratic contention that Medicine stood alone, with a starting-point and procedure of its own, opposed to those of the philosophers.

The alternative theory of the sources of knowledge was formulated by Plato; though I shall argue that it was by much the older of the two, and had all along been unconsciously assumed by the philosophers. It will account for their dogmatism.

It rests upon a very different conception of the nature and contents of *memory*. The empirical view we have just considered is materialistic. It starts from the tangible bodies outside us, which send off images to invade our senses and stamp impressions on the waxen tablet. At birth the tablet is blank. The impressions accumulate, like a vast unsorted heap of postage-stamps. These are the sole contents of memory. Having got so far, the materialist has reluctantly to admit something suspiciously like a mind, with an entirely inexplicable power of sorting out the stamps and assigning them to their respective countries in an album. The album will symbolise knowledge; and the materialist will then try to forget all about the activity of the stamp-collector.

The memory implied in Plato's theory of *Anamnesis* is stored in a very different way. The senses have nothing to teach us: they are classed with the lusts of the flesh as a positive hindrance. Perfect knowledge can be enjoyed only by a disembodied spirit with no sense-organs at all. In this life knowledge is recovered from a memory which is not a record, inscribed since the moment of birth, of those personal experiences which are, of course, different for every individual. It is an *impersonal* memory, the same for all men. Its contents embrace the whole intelligible realm of eternal objects and truths, including all pure mathematics—the whole of knowledge worthy of the name. If this knowledge was ever acquired, it was acquired before the soul first entered a mortal body; but it is more likely that it is eternally possessed by the immortal soul. In this life it is latent; but no limit can be set to the amount that can be recovered by recollection, when the soul withdraws from the body and its senses to think by itself. The process of recovery is illustrated in the *Meno*, where the solution of a not very simple geometrical problem is elicited by questioning from a slave who has never been taught geometry. The doctrine, supported by fresh arguments in the *Phaedo*, forms the one substantial proof of pre-existence accepted by all parties in the first part of that dialogue.

It is instructive to attend to the more or less mythical associations and images surrounding *Anamnesis* in the *Phaedrus*. There the immortal soul is defined by its essential power of self-motion—the power of Eros. The three main forms of desire—the love of pleasure, the love of honour, and the love of wisdom (φιλοσοφία)—are typified by the winged chariot, drawn by the two horses of appetite and passion, and guided by the Intelligence, which alone is capable of seeing truth. The soul-chariots follow the gods in the procession compared to the procession of the already purified initiates to the final revelation at Eleusis. In the divine company, the soul, before incarnation, journeys outside the sphere of the visible heavens to the Plain of Truth, to learn there all the truth it can ever know. After its descent into a mortal body, some part of this knowledge can be regained by recollection, prompted by intimations of beauty shining through the veil of appearances. In this experience of the awakened love of wisdom, the soul is rapt into a condition of enthusiasm or ecstasy, declared to be on a footing with the divine madness of the seer inspired by Apollo, and of the poet inspired by the Muses. Neither seer nor poet has access to the truth of things while he is in his sober senses. And,

like the seer and the poet, the philosopher needs to be rapt beyond this world of sensible experience and to recover a vision denied to the bodily eyes.

The imagery of the *Phaedrus* myth enables us to connect the theory of philosophic knowledge as drawn from memory with prophetic enthusiasm and the inspiration of the poet. To all three—seer, poet, and sage—their peculiar wisdom comes as a revelation—a light breaking in upon what we call the ‘inner consciousness.’ All three have laid claim to a spiritual faculty with access to an unseen world, beyond those limits of time and space which confine the body and its senses. The mantic inspiration of Apollo endowed the seer Calchas with knowledge of the *past* and the hidden *present*, as well as of the *future*: the whole pageant of events in time was unrolled beneath the prophet’s vision. In dreams, moreover, the soul (as Cicero says) is ‘called away from the contagion of its bodily associate, and remembers the *past*, discerns the *present*, and foresees the *future*; for the spirit is alive and in full vigour while the sleeper’s body lies as if dead.’ The knowledge disclosed to the poet by the daughters of Memory is equally extensive. In the second *Iliad* Homer calls on the Muses to ‘put him in mind’ of all who went to Troy: ‘for ye are goddesses, and are present (πρόεσστε) and know all things, while we only hear the report of fame and know nothing.’ This means that the poet, when he is inspired, can see the past as an eye-witness present at the events he illustrates, no longer dependent on hearsay. So too the Muses who came to Hesiod on Helicon ‘know how to tell many fictions that wear the guise of truth but know also how to declare the truth when they will.’ The fictions are what we call creatures of ‘imagination’; but what the Muses proceed to reveal to Hesiod is the truth about the remote past, the origin of the world and the birth of the gods. We should take these claims to supernormal knowledge more seriously than we do. For Homer and Hesiod they were already traditional and beginning to fade into a conventional artifice. But earlier they had been made quite literally. I suspect, indeed, that Homer felt as if he were not merely imagining, still less inventing, the scenes he describes, but seeing with the inward eye what had really taken place; just as Ion the rhapsode assured Socrates that, when he recited the parting of Hector and Andromache or the slaying of the Suitors, he was transported out of his sober senses and ‘his soul believed that, in its rapt (ἐνθουσιάζουσα) condition, it was present at the events in Troy or Ithaca.’

Now the upshot of the *Phaedrus* myth is that knowledge of reality—the unseen nature of things—comes to the philosopher through the analogous exercise of a spiritual faculty called *Nous*, having the same power to rise beyond the bounds of time and space, as the spectator of all time and all existence. The stages of this journey are enumerated in the *Symposium* and the central books of the *Republic*. It carries the soul all the way from the shadows of the Cave to the vision of the Good. The journey is always described in terms of progressive illumination, such as we inevitably use in speaking of intellectual discovery. All the great pioneers of thought have seen the light suddenly irradiate the intelligible pattern in an array of facts that had seemed disorderly and meaningless. This experience Plato equates with poetic and prophetic inspiration. Such moments of illumination come when thought has been extremely concentrated, shutting out the distracting influx of external impressions. A truth which has long been shaping itself breaks through into consciousness, and we seem to recognise something we have always known and had forgotten.

This theory of the sources of philosophic knowledge is no flight of Plato’s fancy. It reproduces a serious belief far older than the empirical theory of Alcmaeon—a belief, moreover, which still flourishes in no small part of the world. In that phase of society when writing is unknown or confined to a small lettered class, the wisdom of the community is possessed and orally transmitted by persons of a type in which the attributes of seer, poet, and philosopher are united. Prophecy (in the wide sense) has been defined as the expression of thought, whether subjective or objective, and of knowledge, whether of the present, the future, or the past, acquired by inspiration and uttered in a condition of exaltation or trance. The artistic form of such utterance is poetry. Epic poetry, the literature of entertainment, preserves the history of the race and the great deeds of the men of old. Didactic poetry covers the origin

of the world and of human institutions, the genealogical descent of families, catalogues, proverbial or gnomic wisdom, and information useful to the farmer and the sea-farer—all the elements combined in Hesiod.

Taught by the Muses, the poets are aware of no boundary separating the utterance of spiritual adventures and journeys to the unseen world from information about the right times for sowing crops or about the winds prevalent in certain seasons, which must have come from normal experience and observation. All this lore is vested in a class claiming mantic powers and universally respected as the most intellectual and gifted members of the community. Examples are: the *rishis* of ancient India, the druids in Gaul, the *filid* of ancient Ireland. Their successors today are found in the Siberian *shamans*, the seers of Polynesia (which is said to possess the richest oral literature in the world), the priests who taught Roscoe the history of Uganda, and so on. Such men are not witch-doctors or vulgar magicians or pathological neurotics. They are rather remarkable for health and sanity, and when not exercising their mantic powers, go about their business like anyone else.

Here I am relying on a great mass of evidence in Mr. and Mrs. Chadwick's survey of oral literature all round the outskirts of Mediterranean civilisation, from Gaul and Ireland, across Scandinavia and Siberia, to Polynesia, India, and North Africa. Their results are summed up in Mrs. Chadwick's *Poetry and Prophecy*, a book which I earnestly recommend to all students of literature. I will quote one paragraph:

'The fundamental elements of the prophetic function seem to have been everywhere the same. Everywhere the gift of poetry is inseparable from divine inspiration. Everywhere this inspiration carries with it knowledge—whether of the past, in the form of history and genealogy; of the hidden present, in the form commonly of scientific information; or of the future, in the form of prophetic utterance in the narrower sense. Always this knowledge is uttered in poetry which is accompanied by music, whether of song or instrument. Music is everywhere the medium of communication with spirits. Invariably we find that the poet and seer attributes his inspiration to contact with supernatural powers, and his mood during prophetic utterance is exalted, and remote from that of his normal existence. Generally we find that a recognised process is in vogue, by which the prophetic mood can be induced at will. The lofty claims of the poet and seer are universally admitted, and he himself holds a high status wherever he is found.'

To understand the attitude of the early philosopher, we must see him as emerging from this composite figure of the mantic person. By Plato's time seer, poet, and sage had become distinct, but he divined their original affinity. He had before him a complete survival of the type in Empedocles. As philosopher, Empedocles narrated the past and future history of the cosmos; as prophet, he revealed the destiny of the soul and the means of purification; everyone admits his genius as a poet; and he called himself a god who had risen above the trammels of mortality. Earlier still, Heraclitus had denounced the 'learning of many things.' Searching himself, he found within him the *Logos* which he delivered in the oracular style of 'the Lord of Delphi, who neither explains nor hides the truth, but indicates it by a sign.' Pythagoras was the hierophant of philosophic mysteries, revealed only to the pure. Parmenides, from whom Plato inherited the image of the Soul-chariot, was borne by the horses of the Sun beyond the gates of day and night, to learn the nature of things from a goddess. The truth so revealed already came to him in the form of logical deduction from self-evident premises—the form in which the truths of geometry unfold themselves to *Anamnesis*. Parmenides is the prophet of Reason; and he sets the senses at defiance.

Yet earlier, in the sixth century, the wise men who shared with the poets the title σοφισταί were no doubt rationalists; but it is an anachronism to represent them as entirely sceptical and disillusioned men of science, starting afresh to study Nature by observation and experiment. They stood within the old tradition; and it is likely that Anaximander, for example, would look back to the cosmogony of Hesiod, and other cosmogonies of the same fundamental pattern, as the genuine revelations they claimed to be. In Hesiod's short account of the

origin of the world, the mythical element is already reduced to the thinnest veil of allegory or metaphor. Anaximander had only to remove the last vestiges of poetical symbolism and to fill out the scheme with operant factors which seemed indubitably prosaic and natural.

The philosopher thus appears as the rationalising successor of the poet-seer, relying at the outset on the traditional wisdom, confirmed by his own inward conviction. On the other hand, his rationalism was to bring him later into conflict with those two other figures, who had been taking their separate ways. The prosecution of Anaxagoras is believed to have been instigated by the seers, whose occupation as interpreters of omens would be gone, if philosophers were allowed to explain eclipses and earthquakes—‘ what goes on in the sky and under the earth ’—as natural events and not signs of divine wrath. Diopieithes, whose decree forbade such atheistical heresies, was himself a seer. And in the moral sphere, the authority of the poets on matters of religion and conduct was threatened by the Sophists and Socrates. Among Socrates’ accusers, Meletus figures on behalf of the poets, and it is with him that Socrates debates the religious count in the indictment. The quarrel between poetry and philosophy was carried further by Plato, to lengths which strike us as extravagant.

These rivalries throw light back upon the time when poet, seer, and sage were the same person. After they had become separate, the poet and the seer still claimed the inspiration of the Muses and Apollo. Plato revived the corresponding claim of the philosopher. But, as I have argued, this was no novelty. The philosopher had all along felt that his spirit was reaching out, beyond every-day experience, to an unseen realm of certain truth.

Against the prestige of this immemorial tradition, the protest of the physicians, with their empirical theory of knowledge, had little weight. Those very Hippocratic writers who object to the philosopher’s empty assumptions, indulge in dogmatic pronouncements equally unfounded. ‘ All disease,’ they will say, ‘ is due to lack of balance in the four humours.’ Their only excuse is that the four humours can be seen and touched and dealt with, whereas no one has ever seen ‘ the hot ’ and ‘ the cold.’

If Aristotle had followed his father’s profession and never joined the Academy, who can say how far he might have carried the empirical impulse of medicine into the whole field of natural philosophy ? But he succumbed to the influence of the divine Plato ; and no sooner were he and his master dead than they became authorities, whose intuitions rendered the study of brute fact superfluous. Thence onwards and all through the Middle Ages, the philosopher ranked once more beside the prophet, and the premises to which all knowledge must conform were furnished by the combined revelation of faith and reason. The empirical theory of knowledge has only raised its head again effectively in the last few centuries. It is a mistake to assume that it governed the speculations of ancient Ionia.

F. M. CORNFORD

OLYMPICHUS OF ALINDA AND THE CARIAN EXPEDITION OF ANTIGONUS DOSON

AN inscription found at Demirdjideré in Caria, and published by A. Laumonier in 1934,¹ deals with the granting of the citizenship of some unnamed city (probably Alinda) to Dionytas and Apollas, officials in the chancery (ἐπιστωλαγραφεῖον (*sic*)) of Olympichus, the στρατηγός of a Hellenistic king, whom Laumonier very reasonably identifies with Philip V of Macedon: Olympichus he assumes to be the Carian dynast of that name, whose machinations against the town of Iasus in about 202 B.C. are recorded in three well-known inscriptions, which Holleaux published in 1899.² Unfortunately, in dating his inscription to the year 202, Laumonier paved the way for certain unjustifiable conclusions about the relations of Macedonia and Caria during the last quarter of the third century B.C.; and as these conclusions have since been drawn by Lenschau,³ it is important, I think, to point out their tenuous basis before there is any risk of their becoming widely accepted.

The question at issue is the status of Olympichus at the time when the Rhodians complained to him about the harassing of the friendly town of Iasus by his man Podilus. In the course of their complaints, the Rhodians mention 'King Philip,' and demand that Olympichus respect the rights of Iasus 'in conformity with the intentions which the king has expressed in writing'; hence Holleaux concluded that Olympichus was Philip's subordinate, acting openly in his interests and recognised as such by the Rhodians.⁴ Already Hicks⁵ had suggested the identification of Olympichus with the Carian dynast mentioned by Polybius (v. 90, 1) as one of the benefactors to Rhodes after the earthquake of 227 B.C.;⁶ from this it was only a short step for Beloch to link him up with the Carian expedition of Antigonos Doson, and to assume a continuous period of Macedonian domination in Caria from the time of that expedition up to the date of the Rhodian *démarche* to Olympichus (which, ignoring Holleaux's strong arguments for 202, he dated early in Philip's reign).⁷

Criticising Beloch's view, Nicolaus⁸ correctly pointed out, however, that there was no reason to think that Olympichus was not an independent dynast, acting in his own interests as well as Philip's, in short that his relations with the king were quite loose and not rigidly defined: otherwise he left the question much as it stood. But Ernst Meyer,⁹ who was first critical and later incredulous¹⁰ of Doson's expedition to Caria, made one significant comment. Had Macedon possessed Carian territory in 202, it would have been governed by a στρατηγός, and it was to this officer that the Rhodians must have presented their complaints about Podilus's attacks on Iasus, not to Olympichus; hence Philip had no such possessions at that time.

Lenschau seized upon this point:¹¹ if, as Laumonier's dating suggested, Olympichus was *himself* Philip's στρατηγός in 202, then the conclusion to be drawn from Meyer's argument must be completely reversed: and it logically followed that Caria was a Macedonian possession from the time of Doson's expedition in 227.¹² Doson, he argued, opened up friendly relations with a local dynast, Olympichus of Alinda, and gave him the status of a

¹ *BCH* lviii. 1934, 291-8.

² *BMI* iii. 441 = Hicks, 182 = *GDI* iii. 3750; cf. Holleaux, *REG* xii. 1899, 20 *seq.*; *REA* v. 1903, 223 *seq.* (giving textual improvements).

³ *P-W*, s.v. 'Olympichos,' cols. 185-6; *Bursian* cclvi. 1938, 271.

⁴ Holleaux, *REG* xii. 1899, 31-2.

⁵ Commenting on *BMI* iii. 441; cf. Holleaux, *REG* xii. 1899, 32.

⁶ On the date of this see Holleaux, *REG* xxxvi. 1923, 480-98 (= *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* (Paris, 1938: ed. L. Robert), I, 445-62).

⁷ *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 2, 550-1.

⁸ *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte König Philipps V. von Makedonien. II. Die Beziehungen Philipps zu Karien*, Diss. Berlin, 1909, p. 77.

⁹ *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien* (Zürich-Leipzig, 1925), p. 69.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, Nachträge, p. 161.

¹¹ *P-W*, s.v. 'Olympichos,' cols. 185-6.

¹² Lenschau sees (quite rightly) that the assumption of the title of στρατηγός is to be connected with the actual presence in Caria of some king of Macedon.

Macedonian στρατηγός.¹³ This relationship was maintained into the reign of Philip, and in the years following 205, when the latter was set upon an eastern policy, his στρατηγός embarked upon an aggressive course on his behalf.

Attractive though it may appear, this version of Lenschau's is without adequate foundation. For there is not the slightest reason to date Laumonier's inscription to 202. On the contrary, there are good grounds for thinking that it refers to a time subsequent to Philip's invasion of Caria. First, however, excluding Laumonier's inscription, we must consider what other evidence there is relevant to Lenschau's theory of a continuous Macedonian στρατηγία in Caria throughout the period 227–201, and in particular what was the position at that time of such dynasts as Olympichus.¹⁴

For the period immediately preceding Ptolemy IV's accession there is reason to think that certain of the dynasts of Asia Minor, though virtually independent, came within the general sphere of Ptolemaic interest. This is implied by Polyb. v. 34, 7,¹⁵ which contrasts the negligent attitude of Philopator towards the overseas possessions of Egypt with that of his predecessors; enumerating these possessions Polybius writes: παρέκειντο δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δυνάσταις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς νήσοις, δεσπύζοντες τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων πόλεων καὶ τόπων καὶ λιμένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Παμφυλίας ἕως Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν κατὰ Λυσιμαχείαν τόπων. This seems to imply that Philopator's predecessors, by their control of the coastal cities, harbours, etc., were able to 'exercise their influence over the dynasts of Asia Minor.'¹⁶ Doubtless Polybius was thinking of the Attalids; but there is no reason to think there were not others. Can we identify them?

After the earthquake of 227 Rhodes was the recipient of gifts from many quarters; among the benefactors listed by Polybius (v. 90, 1) are included οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὄντες δυνάσται τότε, λέγω δὲ Λυσανίαν Ὀλύμπιχον Λιμναῖον. Olympichus is of course the dynast of Alinda: the other two are unknown. Attempts have been made to identify one or the other as a predecessor of the Moagetes who was dynast of Cibyra in Greater Phrygia at the time of Cn. Manlius's Galatian expedition in 189;¹⁷ and Wilhelm¹⁸ has suggested that 'Lysanias' hides a reference to Lysias of the Phrygian dynasty of the Philomelids. Neither theory has much to support it, though the second is perhaps the less improbable. However, the likelihood is that both Limnaeus and Lysanias were, like Olympichus, minor dynasts in Caria or the immediate vicinity, who had therefore neighbourly reasons for their benefactions to the damaged city.¹⁹

The existence of such dynasts in various parts of Asia Minor under the Seleucids is well-attested. Thus a Smyranean decree of about 244 B.C.²⁰ refers to Seleucus II as writing πρὸς

¹³ For a native prince keeping his own possessions, nominally as the officer of a Macedonian king, there is the analogy of Porus and Taxiles, who became satraps of Alexander; cf. Diod. xviii. 3, 2–3; Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 259. For the similar case of Philocles, king of Sidon, see below, n. 28.

¹⁴ Two passages of Polybius deserve cursory mention here. The first of these (v. 34, 6–8)—which will be considered from another aspect below—mentions Macedon as a neighbour of Egypt only in Thrace during the period previous to Philopator's accession (221 B.C.), and therefore perhaps suggests that any conquests made by Doson in Caria were not permanent: see Nicolaus, *op. cit.*, p. 81. The second (iii. 2, 8) is mentioned by Nicolaus, *ibid.*, and by Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 70, as excluding continuous Macedonian occupation during the period under consideration; however, it merely mentions Caria as one of the places attacked by Philip in 201, and I doubt if much can be deduced either from this or from the reference to Carian mercenaries in Egyptian employment c. 220 (Polyb. v. 36, 6).

¹⁵ Why Meyer, *loc. cit.*, claims that this passage 'beweist allerding's nichts' is not clear, particularly as he agrees with Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iv. 2, 339, that the more important towns in Caria were at this time Ptolemaic. True, the passage reveals prejudice against Philopator; but the

part with which we are concerned corresponds, as I hope to show, with what is known independently of the relative contemporary positions of Egypt and Syria.

¹⁶ παρέκειντο is a vague word in this context: Schweighaeuser renders it (*Lexicon Polybianum*); *adiacere, finitimum, vicinum esse*; and its general sense must be 'lie alongside, and so control.' L. and S.⁸ is incorrect in giving the word the sense of 'to press on,' like the preceding ἐπικειμαι (L. and S.⁹ omits the parallel with ἐπικειμαι, but keeps the same translation).

¹⁷ See Niese, *Gesch. d. gr. u. mak. Staaten*, ii. 160; Ruge, *P-W*, s.v. 'Kibyra,' col. 375; Schoch, *P-W*, s.v. 'Limnaeus (2),' col. 708.

¹⁸ *Wien. S.B.* 166 (1911), 54. The identification is approved by Holleaux in his very full discussion of the Lysias dynasty in *REA*, xvii. 1915, 237–43.

¹⁹ Polybius puts them in a different category from Prusias and Mithridates, who also made benefactions.

²⁰ *OGIS* 229 = Hicks, *Manual* 176. The date was determined by De Sanctis, 'Contributi alla storia del impero Seleucideo,' in *Atti Acc. Torino* xlvii. 1911–12, 817, and has been generally accepted. The formula of this inscription (kings, dynasts, cities, and peoples) is that found with slight variants in Diod. xix. 57, 3 (appeal of Antigonus I. in 315); *Syll.*³ 590, l. 11 (recognition of the δούλεια of Didyma in c. 196); *OGIS* 441, l. 130 (time of

τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, requesting that the city be declared inviolable; and two Pergamene inscriptions²¹ celebrate the victory of Attalus I over Seleucus III's generals and Lysias, who is probably the Phrygian dynast of that name.²² Hence it is clear that there were dynasts in Asia Minor prior to the War of the Brothers, recognised by and presumably loyal to the Seleucid house. Whether, however, those of S.W. Asia Minor—Olympichus and, if our assumption is correct, Limnaeus and Lysanias—come within this category, or whether, as has been suggested,²³ they sprang up during the confusion of the War of the Brothers, is by no means easy to determine. What does seem likely in either case is that they broke away from Syria and in the confusion which surrounded the rise and subsequent defeat of Antiochus Hierax ranged themselves—still nominally independent—in the camp of Ptolemy, who not only controlled much of Caria, but also stood behind Hierax's conqueror, Attalus of Pergamum.²⁴ Granted, this is conjecture: but it is conjecture based upon probability. The setbacks which Seleucus II suffered at the hands of Hierax, and those inflicted upon his successor by Attalus were in remarkable contrast to the latter's consistent successes against all three of his opponents; they render it highly unlikely that the dynasts of Caria remained loyal to an empire from which they were so effectively separated. And it is surely a valid argument, if one *ex silentio*, that the Phrygian dynast Lysias, but no other, is recorded as fighting alongside Seleucus III's generals against Attalus. In fact, from the time of Hierax's revolt down to the recovery of the western provinces by Achaeus, in the years 223–220,²⁵ the Seleucid position in S.W. Asia Minor was very weak, a fact wholly consonant with Polybius's statement that Philopator's predecessors had the Asiatic dynasts within their sphere of influence. Moreover, Achaeus's defection once more subtracted this western territory from Antiochus III's domains; nor was it till he had executed Achaeus in 213 and made his subsequent Asiatic 'anabasis' that Antiochus ἐποίησατο τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς . . . τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου δυνάστας (Polyb. xi. 34, 14).

Admittedly this picture is sketchy and the evidence for it slight. Olympichus *may* have been exceptional among the dynasts. He *may* have been appointed Antigonos Doson's general in Caria in 227, and may even have acted for him in some capacity until 223, when the Lagids and Antigonids patched up their old quarrel at the expense of Cleomenes of Sparta²⁶—for the reference to Olympichus as dynast at the time of his benefactions to Rhodes does not completely rule out the possibility that he was also a Macedonian στρατηγός.²⁷ Indeed, there is nothing in Polybius which definitely excludes a continuous Macedonian στρατηγία in Caria from 227 to 201 or later; for, it should be noted, at the time when Antiochus finished his 'anabasis' and took possession of 'the sea-coast towns and the dynasts this side Taurus,' Olympichus was in any case probably in communication with Philip V. Achaeus's recovery of the area was perhaps equally incomplete: in both cases Polybius is writing in general terms. Nevertheless, the complete omission by Polybius of any reference to a Macedonian province in Caria or to its control by Olympichus in a series of passages which are concerned with the sovereignty over that area and its dynasts favours the view

Sulla); *Syll.*² 760 (time of Caesar: see Keil's notes *ad loc.* for further examples); see Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), pp. 502–3, 1347, 1439–40. The formula offers no evidence on the degree of independence enjoyed by the dynasts relative to the Seleucids.

²¹ *OGIS* 272, 277.

²² See Holleaux, *REA*, xvii. 1915, 238.

²³ Cf. Niese, *op. cit.*, ii. 160; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Holleaux, *REA*, xvii. 1915, 242; Tarn, *CAH* vii. 720.

²⁴ By 228 Attalus was master of Asia Minor north of the Taurus (cf. Tarn, *CAH* vii. 721); his victories over Hierax included one at Coloe in Lydia (*OGIS* 278; cf. Euseb. *Chron.* i. 254 (Schoene)) and another in Caria on the River Harpasus, a tributary of the Maeander (*OGIS* 271, 279; cf. Euseb. *Chron.* i. 253); see Niese, *op. cit.*, ii. 159, and Beloch, *op. cit.*, iv. 1, 682; iv. 2, 547. That

Egypt stood behind Attalus both in this struggle against Hierax and later in that against the generals of Seleucus III is clear; as Beloch points out (*op. cit.*, iv. 1, 628, n. 2; 686, n. 3). Justinus, xxvii. 3, 9, refers to Ptolemy III as the enemy of Hierax; and—a point of greater weight—Andromachus, one of Seleucus III's generals, was lodged, when taken prisoner, at Alexandria (Polyb. iv. 51, 1–5). It should be noted that the dynasts of S.W. Asia Minor were from a geographical point of view particularly likely to fall under Egyptian influence.

²⁵ Polyb. iv. 48, 9–13; cf. Tarn, *CAH* vii. 723: 'by 220 he had recovered the whole of Seleucid Asia Minor.'

²⁶ See below, n. 45.

²⁷ The Egyptian navarch Philocles appears in inscriptions (e.g. Ditt. *Syll.*² 391) as βασιλεὺς Σιδωνίων, a position granted to him by one or other of the first two Ptolemies; see the next note.

that any such province can have had only a very ephemeral existence. It is a view which obtains support when we turn to the more positive evidence afforded by the Iasus inscription published by Holleaux.

This decree records how certain representations have been made to Olympichus by the Rhodians on behalf of Iasus, which he is threatening; finally the Rhodians make it quite clear that τὰ μὲν φίλιαν καὶ τὰν εὐνοίαν τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ποτὶ βασιλ[έα] Φίλιππον διαφυλάξει ὁ δᾶμος, πράξει δὲ ἃ πέπεισται συμφέροντα | εἴμειν ποτὶ τὰν Ἰασέων ἀσφάλειαν (insc. C, ll. 91-3). This—the last sentence of the decree—is intended as a plain threat to Olympichus. The distinction made between Olympichus and Philip is, however, significant; it raises the question: If Olympichus is Philip's general, how can Rhodes make war on the subordinate and yet maintain peace with the king?

Clearly if Olympichus had now for twenty-five years held his dynastic title merely by courtesy within a domain which was in fact Macedonian, and which he actually governed as a Macedonian στρατηγός, the distinction made by the Rhodians is absurd. Hence, if Lenschau's theory is to survive this difficulty, Olympichus must have exercised a dual function, controlling certain territory—including, presumably, Alinda itself—as dynast, and governing other parts as representative of Pella. In this case his position would be parallel to that of Philocles, who had combined the role of virtually autonomous king of Sidon with that of navarch, or 'viceroy of the sea,'²⁸ under Ptolemy Philadelphus. Even so the Rhodian distinction would be curious; for by appealing to Philip at all the Rhodians were laying stress on Olympichus's relations with Pella—on his subordinate rather than his independent functions—and one would expect some reference to his actual position as στρατηγός. On finding none, one can scarcely resist the impression that Olympichus was *not* Philip's στρατηγός in 202.

There is, however, one possible explanation consonant with the theory of the continuous στρατηγία. The object of the Rhodians in insisting on their friendship with Philip (at a time when it was clearly strained) is diplomatic; like the Aetolians in 220,²⁹ they seek to limit any possible clash, and failing that to put the onus of attack upon Philip. Given this intention it is not impossible that they should play upon Olympichus's dual function, appealing to Philip to curb his subordinate, yet at the same time stressing that in attacking Olympichus they would be attacking only the dynast of Alinda. It might not be logical; but diplomacy frequently jettisons logic.

Once more then we have a probability, but nothing conclusive. For a decisive argument that Olympichus was not Philip's στρατηγός prior to 201 we must turn to Philip's reaction to the Rhodian complaints and the method he adopted to satisfy them. For the curious thing is that he gives his instructions through the agency of Rhodes! Olympichus is called upon by the Rhodian envoys to respect Iasus and make amends to it ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπισταλῆσ[ιν, εἰδὸς] τὰ ὅτι τούτων ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὁμολογούμενα φανεῖται πράσσειν [τᾶι | τ]ε τοῦ βασιλέως αἰρέσει καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστελλομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φι[λαν]θ[ρ]ώποις ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν (insc. C, ll. 78-81). This expression of Philip's wishes is mentioned earlier as contained in τὰ ἐπεσ[ταλμένα] ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν (insc. C, ll. 74-5). Now it has been argued³⁰ that in writing to Rhodes in these terms Philip was simply playing a double game, feigning to placate the Rhodians while secretly he egged on Olympichus to new aggressions. This seems to be a likely interpretation of Philip's policy, for it corresponds to what he was doing in Crete³¹ and also to the manoeuvre by which his man Heracleides succeeded in burning part of the Rhodian dockyards.³² But the possibility of such a rôle

²⁸ So Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 109. For a full discussion of Philocles's position and an account of the inscriptions relating to him see Holleaux, *REG* viii. 1895, 32 seq. (= *Études d'épigraphie*, i. 24 seq.); M. Segre, *Aegyptus* xiv. 1934, 256 seq.

²⁹ Polyb. iv. 15, 8 seq. οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο πρὸς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίῳ καὶ Μεσσηνίῳ καὶ τοῖς

ἄλλοις πάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς κτλ.

³⁰ Cf. Nicolaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-8.

³¹ Polyb. xiii. 5, 1; cf. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 110.

³² Polyb. xiii. 5, 1-3; Polyæn. v. 17 (2); cf. Walbank, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

depends essentially upon Olympichus's status remaining *ambiguous*. It might be known that he was in close touch with Philip; but if he was in fact a Macedonian officer, then his activities could not be repudiated by Philip, and the only way in which the king could hope to give satisfaction to the Rhodians would be by a statement that he had issued instructions to Olympichus direct;³³ the decrees as preserved have, however, no reference to such a statement and, further, omit to mention Olympichus's status, which would be decidedly curious, if he was indeed Philip's general.³⁴

We can only conclude that in 202 Olympichus was still an independent dynast, known to be closely connected with Philip V, but not openly and directly under his authority. The change in status must have come, not with Doson's, but with Philip's Carian expedition, and Laumonier's inscription must consequently be dated subsequent to summer 201.³⁵ As Philip's power lasted in parts of Caria until 197,³⁶ this offers no difficulties.

I have deliberately omitted considering whether the Olympichus of Holleaux's and Laumonier's inscriptions (and I agree with the latter in referring both to the same man) is identical with the Olympichus mentioned by Polybius as a benefactor of Rhodes. Laumonier thinks it probable that the latter was the father of the former: but he is basing this view on the possibility that one or the other is identical with the Ὀλύμπιχος Ὀλυμπίχου mentioned as the recipient of the citizenship of a Carian town, probably Iasus, on an inscription published by Cousin in 1889.³⁷ Both Holleaux³⁸ and Lenschau³⁹ reject the identification as unlikely; and without categorically denying the possibility that this Olympichus may be the same as the one we are considering, it seems safest to refrain from inferences based on such an identification. Whether, therefore, Philip's man Olympichus is the Rhodian benefactor or his son is not capable of proof on our present evidence: nor is it very material to the immediate argument, since the same conclusions are valid, whether we are dealing with one man or two successive members of one dynasty.⁴⁰

For the point I wish to stress is this. Laumonier's inscription, describing Olympichus's status subsequent to 202, can have no direct bearing on the question of Doson's obscure Carian expedition of 227.⁴¹ The attitude of extreme scepticism with regard to his expedition⁴² is no longer so common as it used to be: but the positive evidence is still very slight, and it is important not to allow it to seem stronger than it actually is. What the facts concerning Olympichus (or his dynasty) do seem to suggest is that he was one of a number of dynasts in S.W. Asia Minor, who either obtained their independence or at least abandoned their Syrian allegiance during the War of the Brothers. After some years of confusion, during the clash between Hierax and Attalus, they finally drifted into the sphere of Ptolemaic interest.

³³ Thus in Ditt. *Syll.*³ 552, a letter to the people of Abae in Phocis, Philip writes: ὑμῖν βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι γέγρα[φ]α τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ μὴ ἐνο[χ]λεῖν ὑμᾶς. Heracleides was probably στρατηγός in Phocis, a position held earlier by Alexander; cf. Polyb. v. 96, 4: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς Φωκίδος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου. This analogy with Heracleides would still be valid, notwithstanding Olympichus's postulated dual role as dynast and royal officer.

³⁴ In a slightly different form, this point was made by Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 69, when he pointed out that if Philip had had a στρατηγός in Caria he would have instructed him to tell Olympichus to refrain from attacking Iasus.

³⁵ The phrase διατρίβοντες [[π]ορ' Ὀλυμπίχῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολογραφίῳ is the usual formula for officials attached to kings and dynasts (an interesting proof of Olympichus's dual status—after 201—as dynast and royal official); Laumonier quotes a number of examples of the phrase. It affords no evidence on the length of time Olympichus had been στρατηγός, since it is in his capacity as 'independent' ruler that he possesses an ἐπιστολογραφίον.

³⁶ Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Walbank, *op. cit.*, p. 129, n. 4, p. 175.

³⁷ Cousin, *BCH* xiii. 1889, 23 seq. The Olympichus,

son of Troilus, on an inscription published by Buckler-Calder, *MAMA* vi. 3, no. 4, has nothing at all to do with Olympichus of Alinda (cf. L. Robert, *REG* lii. 1939, 506, no. 393, 4: the absence of an ethnic proves he is a citizen of Laodiceia), and the somewhat fanciful reconstruction there proposed (viz. an Olympichus gave buildings to Laodiceia (Buckler's inscription); in 197 *Laudiceni ex Asia* were fighting against Macedon (Livy (P) xxxiii. 18, 3): therefore Olympichus probably deserted Philip and opposed him as well) may be dismissed as without foundation. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 1645, n. 230.

³⁸ *REG* xii. 1899, 32, 'extrêmement douteuse'.

³⁹ P-W, s.v. 'Olympichos,' col. 185, 'hat . . . wohl nichts mit ihm zu tun.'

⁴⁰ The older custom was for a man to take his *grandfather's* name; but Cousin's inscription is at any rate a useful example of the fact that this was no longer rigidly adhered to, and the two men might well have been father and son.

⁴¹ On the date of this see Fine, *AJPh* lxi. 1940, 143 seq.; Walbank, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 4.

⁴² See, for example, Kolbe, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1916, pp. 459 seq.; Ernst Meyer, *op. cit.*, Nachträge, p. 161; Holleaux, *REA* xxv. 1923, 344, n. 8; *Rev. Phil.* l. 1926, 56, n. 1.

When Doson invaded Caria in 227, he may well have opened up relations of a loose kind, probably in the form of guest-friendship, with the then ruler of Alinda.⁴³ Such an action fits in well with the anti-Ptolemaic character of the Carian expedition.⁴⁴ However, with the Macedono-Egyptian *rapprochement* towards the end of Doson's reign,⁴⁵ any political significance will temporarily have lapsed; with the weakening of Ptolemaic power towards the end of Philopator's reign and the transfer of Macedonian interest to the Aegean and Asia Minor after the Peace of Phoenice⁴⁶ Philip evidently revived his relations with Alinda, and obtained the collaboration of Olympichus in a mutually profitable scheme of expansion to the detriment of Rhodes.⁴⁷ Following upon Philip's personal intervention in 201, Olympichus passed directly within his sphere of control and took the status of στρατηγός.

The evidence, therefore, that Olympichus affords for the reality of the Carian expedition is in fact very slight; indeed it cannot be stated categorically that Macedonian relations with Alinda were not first established by Philip during the years 205–202, through the agency of envoys (as he established contacts with the Bastarnae and Danube tribes in the years following 184).⁴⁸ But such a compact would, in the circumstances, have tended to be secret,⁴⁹ and the open Rhodian assumption that Olympichus is Philip's man points to a longer and more definite association than this hypothesis makes possible. On this question, however, the inscription published by Laumonier provides no new material; set up after 201, its value lies solely in its indication of the change in Olympichus's status subsequent to Philip V's invasion of Caria.⁵⁰

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⁴³ That Olympichus may have acted as Doson's governor until the *rapprochement* with Egypt cannot, as we saw, be completely ruled out; but it remains a hypothesis unsupported by any evidence.

⁴⁴ On this see Droysen, *Gesch. des Hellen.*² (Gotha, 1877), iii. 2, 145–6; Bettingen, *König Antigonos Doson von Makedonien*, Diss. Jena, 1912, p. 25; Tarn, *CAH* vii. 722. Treves, *Athen.* xiii. 1935, 37 *seq.* argues that the Carian expedition was directed against Syria (*contra* Aymard, *REA* xxxviii. 1936, 266).

⁴⁵ There is a strong probability that Doson actually surrendered any conquests he had made in exchange for the cessation of Ptolemaic subsidies to Sparta; cf. Tarn, *CAH* vii. 722; Nicolaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 *seq.*; Walbank, *op. cit.*, p. 13, n. 2.

⁴⁶ Walbank, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 *seq.*

⁴⁷ It is noteworthy that Philip's policy (and that of Olympichus) is in marked contrast to that of Doson in 227; for Doson was careful to maintain the friendly

neutrality of Rhodes by gifts not only from himself, but also from his wife Chryseis (Polyb. v. 89, 7)—the latter being in line with, and perhaps designed to recall previous benefactions of the Epirote royal house (cf. Timachidas, *Lindian Temple Chronicle* (ed. Blinkenberg, Bonn, 1915), xl, for dedications by Pyrrhus to Athena of Lindus).

⁴⁸ Walbank, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 *seq.* Note too that if Nicolaus, *op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 28, is right, and Olympichus is to be included among the dynasts over whom Antiochus reasserted his control (Polyb. xi. 34, 14; see above, p. 10), it is not impossible that his first contacts with Macedon are to be connected with the Syro-Macedonian pact of 203–2. But this hypothesis is open to the same objections as that just mentioned above.

⁴⁹ Just as Philip's support of the Cretans and Dicaearchus was secret; cf. Walbank, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁵⁰ I am indebted throughout the whole of this article to the friendly criticism and suggestions of Dr. Piero Treves.

THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM.

THE collection of Greek inscriptions in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, has been much increased during the last four decades. It will therefore be useful to give a complete list, and, where it seems to be advisable, a full description of these sixty-four texts in stone, bronze and wood, twenty-four of which are unpublished, as far as I am able to ascertain, or have been published without full transcription.¹

I. Athens.

1. *Clarke's Marbles* XXX = CIG 78 = IG I² 87. Acquired in 1865.
2. *Clarke's Marbles* I = CIG 835B = IG III¹ 2396. Acquired in 1865.
3. *Clarke's Marbles* XII = CIG 839 = IG III¹ 2410 = A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, No. 21 = A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* IV pp. 23 f., No. 1820 and pl. 387. Acquired in 1865.
4. CIG 2033 = IG II¹ 2017 = Michaelis, *op. cit.* No. 22 = Conze, *op. cit.* II p. 230, No. 1065 and pl. 217. Acquired in 1865.
5. Conze, *op. cit.* II pp. 195 f., No. 912. Acquired in 1884.
6. Conze, *op. cit.* IV p. 49, No. 1930 and pl. 413 = *Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum Annual Report*, 1919. Acquired in 1919. Length 49 cm., height 97 cm., thickness 10 cm.

II. Peloponnesus.

- a. Dyme. CIG 1543 = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, No. 684. Transferred from Trinity College in 1924.
- b. Megalopolis. Fragment of a bronze decree, given by Dr. M. R. James in 1891. Unpublished. Script of fourth or third century B.C. Length and height about 10 cm. (exact measurements could not be taken owing to war conditions).

ἡμέ]ραι κ[υριεύοντων(?)
]ἡμέραι κυριευ[όντων(?)
]ς ἀντιθέμενος τὰ ια δ[
]ε·κατάγαγε δὲ καὶ τὸ[
 5]σατο δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐλ[όμενα(?)
]τὰς τροπὰς[

III. Islands.

- a. Cos or Rhodes. CIG 2654 = P. Jacobsthal, 93 *Winkelmansprogramm*, p. 26, No. 4. Acquired in 1865, perhaps *via* Egypt.
- b. Samos. *Clarke's Marbles* XIII = CIG 2262 = Michaelis, *op. cit.* No. 24. Acquired in 1865.

IV. Crete.

- a. Eremopoli.

1. Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete* II p. 419, No. 17 and pl. I 17 = *Journ. Phil.* II (1855) p. 104, No. 7. Acquired in 1854.

¹ It is my agreeable duty to thank the Fitzwilliam Museum authorities for the kind permission to publish these texts, and especially the Director, the Honorary Keepers and the members of the staff of the Fitzwilliam Museum for giving me all available facilities to begin this

article and to complete it under war conditions in 1939. In addition, thanks are due to Dr. W. Morel for the contributions signed with his name, and to Sir Herbert Thompson for translations of Demotic mummy labels.

2. Spratt, *op. cit.* II p. 420, No. 18 and pl. I 18 = *Journ. Phil.* II p. 107, No. 5 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Graec.*, No. 196. Acquired in 1854.
3. Spratt, *op. cit.* I p. 197; II p. 421, No. 20 and pl. I 20 = *Journ. Phil.* II p. 108, No. 6 = Michaelis, *op. cit.* No. 13 = H. Roehl, *Inscr. Graec. Antiquiss.*, No. 474 = E. S. Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, I p. 47, No. 13. Acquired in 1854.
- b. Lebena. Spratt, *op. cit.* II pp. 422 f. No. 1 and pl. II 1 = *Journ. Phil.* II p. 106, No. 3 = Kaibel, *op. cit.* No. 839 = M. Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret.* I p. 171, No. 24. Acquired in 1854.
- c. Poecilasium. Spratt, *op. cit.* II p. 428, No. 16 and pl. II 16 = *Journ. Phil.* II pp. 105 f. No. 2 = Guarducci, *op. cit.* II pp. 230 f. No. 1. Acquired in 1854.

V. Pontus, Phanagoria.

1. Clarke's Marbles VI = CIG 2127 = Michaelis, *op. cit.* No. 27 = Kaibel, *op. cit.* No. 539. Acquired in 1865.
2. Clarke's Marbles VII = CIG 2130. Acquired in 1865.
3. Clarke's Marbles XXIV = CIG 2126. Acquired in 1865.

VI. Troas.

- a. Alexandria Troadis. *Journ. Phil.* II p. 99, No. 1 = Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*¹, No. 1312 = Dittenberger, *op. cit.* No. 653. Acquired in 1854.
- b. Ilium.
 1. Clarke's Marbles XXI and XXIII = CIG 3612 and CIL III 380. Acquired in 1865.
 2. Clarke's Marbles XXVIII = CIG 3603. Acquired in 1865.
 3. Clarke's Marbles XXXI = CIG 3623. Acquired in 1865.
- c. Sigeum. Clarke's Marbles XXIX = Michaelis, *op. cit.* No. 15 = CIG 3635. Acquired in 1865.

VII. Ionia.

- a. Magnesia on the Sipylus. CIG 3411 = Sotheby, *Catalogue* 30.5.1927 p. 10, No. 59. Acquired in 1927. Length 41.2 cm., height 31.2 cm., thickness 4.3 cm. Third century A.D. The text of this inscription, which had disappeared for a long time, should be revised as follows:

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τρύφων ἀγοράσας τὸ
 ἡρώων διαπεφορημένον κατε-
 σκεύασ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί
 Ἀντιοχίδι καὶ τέκνοις αὐτῶν
 5 καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ θρέμμασιν.
 Μηδενὶ δ' ἐτέρῳ ἔσον εἶναι
 βληθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἡρώων· Εἰ
 δὲ μή, δώσει Μητρὶ Θε-
 ῶν Σιπυλήνῃ* φ.
 10 Τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἐτέ-
 θη εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον.

For this type of inscription cp. H. Stemler, 'Die griechischen Grabinschriften Kleinasien,' *Phil. Diss. Strassburg* (1909).

1. 5. For the meaning of θρέμμα 'adopted child,' 'foster child,' in free or slave status, cp. A. Cameron, 'Θρεπτός and Related Terms in the Inscriptions of Asia Minor,' *Anatolian Studies Presented to W. H. Buckler*, pp. 27 f.

1. 6. Read ἐξόν.

1. 8. For the cult of the Μητήρ Θεῶν Σιπυλῆνι cp. *RE* XI 2253 art. 'Kybele'; III A 275 f. art. 'Sipylos,' and C. C. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, pp. 215 f.

1. 9. For similar fines cp. W. Liebmann, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche* (1900), pp. 37 f.; B. Laum, *Stiftungen* I (1914), p. 202. The fine of 500 denarii is not heavy judging from similar fines found on the grave inscriptions from Smyrna and its neighbourhood. The date of this monument should therefore be fixed in the early third century A.D., before the inflation of the Roman silver became catastrophic.

1. 10. It is easy to notice that the stone was prepared beforehand for the incision of lines 1-9, but not for the following sentence. It is therefore highly probable that the text of this inscription was not registered originally, and that lines 10 and 11 contain a supplement added after the registration in the town archives. Cp. for this institution Laum, *op. cit.* p. 129.

b. Smyrna.

1. Ph. Le Bas-W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines* III p. 16, No. 26 = Cadoux, *op. cit.* p. 251, note 1 = Sotheby, *Cat.* 30. V. 1927 p. 10, No. 59. Acquired, together with VII a, from the collection of Archibald G. B. Russell in 1927. Second century A.D. Length 52.8 cm., height 28.5 cm., thickness 3.8 cm. The text of this inscription, which was originally the property of J. F. Lee, should be revised as follows:

Θεόδοτος [ς κατεσκεύασε τὸ μνημεῖον]
 Χρυσίῳ Νικίου τοῦ νεωτέ[ρου τῇ σ-]
 υνβίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροι[ς] πᾶ[σι]
 καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν, μὴ ἐχούσ-
 5 ης ἐξουσίαν Ἀ(π)φίου τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐ-
 οῦ ἢ τῶν τέκνων(ν) αὐτῆς ἀντιποιήσασ-
 θαι τοῦ μνημεῖου ἢ τῆς ἐπικειμένη-
 ς σοροῦ ἢ κωλύσαι τι τῶν διατεταγμ-
 ἐνων περὶ αὐτοῦ, περὶ τε τούτου ἡσφαλί-
 10 [σθη εἰς] ἀρχεῖον ἐπὶ τῇ διαθήκῃ.

1. 9. For the use of ἀσφαλίζω cp. Dittenberger, *OGIS* No. 515.25; 613.4.

1. 10. The expression ἐπὶ τῇ διαθήκῃ seems to be without direct parallel. Cp. Laum, *op. cit.* I pp. 116 f.

2. *CIG* 3147 = Cadoux, *op. cit.* p. 254 note 4. Transferred from Trinity College in 1924.

3. *CIG* 3269. Transferred from Trinity College in 1924.

4. *CIG* 6966 = Michaelis, *op. cit.* No. 23. Acquired from J. F. Lee (cp. b 1) in 1816.

c. Near Teos. *CIG* 3068 = Michel, *Recueil*¹ No. 1016. Acquired in 1865.

VIII. Caria.

Halicarnassus. *CIG* 106 = Michel, *Recueil*¹ No. 452. Transferred from Trinity College in 1924.

IX. Phrygia.

Docimeum. *CIG* 6861 = Michaelis, *op. cit.* No. 110 = Kaibel, *op. cit.* No. 666. Transferred from Trinity College in 1924.

X. Egypt and Nubia.

a. Coptus(?). Dittenberger, *OGIS* No. 53. Acquired in 1899.

b. Dongola.

1. G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques-Chrétiennes d'Égypte* (1907) No. 641. Acquired in 1903.

2. Lefebvre, *op. cit.* No. 642. Acquired in 1903.

3. Lefebvre, *op. cit.* No. 643. Acquired in 1903.

c. Hawara.

1. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* I No. 5755. Acquired in 1911.
2. Preisigke, *op. cit.* No. 5756. Acquired in 1911.
3. *British School of Archaeology in Egypt* XXIV (1927) p. 19 and pl. 52. Acquired in 1921.

Τιβερίου 'Ιουλίου 'Ασκληπ[ιάδου]
 γυμνασιάρχου καὶ ἀρχιγέρο[ντος]
 καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ 'Ιου[λίας]
 Θερμουθαρίου καὶ Δίου το[ῦ]
 5 'Αμμωνίου γυμνασιάρχου καὶ τ[ῆς]
 γυναικὸς 'Ηραίδος οἰκία καὶ τάφος
 ἀκαταχρηματιστὰ καὶ ἀνεξάλλωτριωτὰ
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπάντα χρόνον.

1. 2. For the Alexandrian title ἀρχιγέρον cp. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch* I No. 2100 (Ptol. period) and *Cod. Theodos.* XIV 27.1 = *Cod. Just.* I 4.5 (A.D. 396).

It has not been noticed hitherto that this memorial inscription of two distinguished Alexandrian families of the first century A.D. is of historical importance and can be precisely dated. The only *gerusia* of Alexandrian citizens which existed between the times of Augustus and, at the earliest, Septimius Severus was elected in A.D. 37, and was declared illegal by Caligula near the end of the same year, as A. von Premerstein, 'Alexandrinische Geronten vor Kaiser Gaius,' *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek* V (1939) pp. 57 f., has recently shown. Tiberius Julius Asclepiades can therefore only have been *archigeron* of Alexandria during this short period, and must have died before the illegality of the *gerusia* was known in Egypt, i.e., before the spring of A.D. 38. The M. Julius Asclepiades of the famous letter of the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians (cp. Hunt-Edgar, *Select Papyri* II (1934) No. 212 l. 17) was perhaps a son or a near relation of this *archigeron*. The *gymnasiarchus* Dios of our inscription, who was no Roman citizen, might have been a near relation of Julia Thermutharion, the wife of Asclepiades.

- d. Lycopolites. Dedication to Nero's Tyche. Unpublished. Acquired in 1901.
 Upper part of a sculptured stele. Sandstone. Length 14.7 cm., height 24.9 cm., thickness 3.6 cm.

Καί(σαρι) σύ(νοδος).
 Ὑπὲρ τῆς Τύχης
 Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 5 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκρά-
 [το]ρος σύνοδος Λυκο-
 [πολιτῶν καὶ οἱ] γένοι[το]
 [ἡβεικότες(?)]

There is space left between lines 1 and 2 for a relief showing the Hieroglyphic letter ♀ between two jackals. The Egyptian winged sun is represented above line 1.

- ll. 1 and 6. For similar clubs cp. *RE* IV A, 1420 f. art. 'Synodos.'
 l. 8. For this restoration cp. Premerstein, *op. cit.* p. 45.

- e. Ptolemais. Dittenberger, *OGIS* No. 668. Acquired in 1890.

f. Uncertain of Egypt.

1. Alexandrian(?) memorial stele. Unpublished. Acquired in 1901. Sandstone. Late Ptolemaic period. A relief shows Anubis leading the deceased one to Osiris and Isis. The letters of the inscription are painted in red. Length 27.3 cm., height 33.6 cm., thickness 5.8 cm.

'Ισιδώρου Σαραπίωνος
 ἁώρου μνεῖα γένοι-
 το εἰς τὸν ἀπάντα
 χρόνον

2. Alexandrian (?) memorial stele. Unpublished. Acquired in 1901. Sandstone. Roman period. Similar relief to 1. Length 32.1 cm., height 43.8 cm., thickness 7 cm.

Ἀρονώφρις Κρονίου
Ζήνωνος

Below grafitto:

Ῥύπειρος ἐντυγχάνων
προσκύνημ[α(?)]

3. Dedication to Sarapis. Unpublished. Acquired in 1901. Limestone. Late Ptolemaic period. Length 17.5 cm., height 18.7 cm., thickness 5 cm.

Σαραπίδος κλείου

g. Wooden mummy labels. Unpublished.

1. Inv. No. 1. Late second or early third century A.D. 8.5 × 3.5 cm.

Ἀρυώτης Πβήκιος
ἀπὸ Βομπαήι

2. Inv. No. 2. Second century A.D. 11.3 × 4.4 cm.

Καλὸς Ἄρης
μητρός Τενπβήγεως
(ἐτῶν) ν =

l. 2. This female name is not mentioned by F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (1922).

3. Inv. No. 3 = Budge, *Cat. Egypt. Coll. in Fitzwilliam Museum*, No. 524. Late second or early third century A.D. 8.6 × 4.8 cm. The verso has Demotic script.

Σενσοντῶς
Ἀρεμήφις
μητρός Θμεσι-
ῶτος

4. Inv. No. 4. Second century A.D. 9.5 × 6 cm.

Μίκκαλος
Πβήκιος υἱός
Θατρήτος

5. Inv. No. 5. Late second or early third century A.D. 9.6 × 6 cm.

Ταλοῦς Ἀπολλωνί-
ου μητρός Θατρήτιος
ἐβίωσεν (ἔτος) α

6. Inv. No. 6. Second century A.D. 11.8 × 4.5 cm.

Ταλῶνις
Ἀφροδισίου
μητρός Τεύριος

7. Inv. No. 7. Third century A.D. 9.5 × 3.4 cm.

Παττισοῖος 'νεώτ(ερος)' Ἀσιῆτος
μητρός Σεναρηωτίδος
Εἰς αἰὶ μνηστὸν τὸ ὄνομα

l. 1. Παττισοῖος is not mentioned by Preisigke, *op. cit.*

8. Inv. No. 8. Late second or early third century A.D. 9.5 × 4.6 cm. The verso has Demotic script.

(Ἑτῶν) ε μ (*sic*)
Πελίλιος Πελιλίου
μητρός Σενχέμ-
σνέως ἀπὸ Βομπαή
(Ἑτῶν) με

9. Inv. No. 9. Late second or early third century A.D. 11.2 × 4.6 cm. The verso has Demotic script.

Σενπβήκισ Ἀπολλωνίου
μητρός Τατρήφιος
ἀπὸ Βομπαή

10. Inv. No. 10. Late second or early third century A.D. 11.9 × 4.8 cm. From Sakkara.

Κολλούθης Κολ-
λούθου μη'τ' (ρός) Σεν-
κολλούθου

- II. 2/3. Σενκολλούθης is not mentioned by Preisigke, *op. cit.*

11. Inv. No. 11. Late second or early third century A.D. 9.8 × 4.1 cm. The verso has Demotic script and mentions Bompae as home town of Tatriphis.

Τατρίφης πρεσβυτ(έρα)
Ἀρυώτου μητρός[ς] Σεν-
ρυωτίδος

12. Inv. No. 12. Late second or early third century A.D. 7.6 × 4.6 cm.

Σενψενοῦρις Ἀπολλῶ-
τος μη'τ' (ρός) Τκανῶπος
ἀπὸ Ψωνέως

- I. 2. Τκανῶπις is not mentioned by Preisigke, *op. cit.*

- I. 3. For the village of Psonis cp. Preisigke-Kießling, *Papyruswoerterbuch* III p. 340.

13. Inv. No. 13. Late second or early third century A.D. 22 × 8.7 cm.

* Ἀρειος ὁ Κεπέτον Ἐφθοῦ-
μος Ἀθάτος μητρός Ἀπλωλεοῦ-
τος λεγόμενος Ἀπποῦτος γεγυ-
μνασιαρχηκότου Μέμφεως ἐτῶν
ἑξήκοντα δύο

- I. 1. Καπίτων. Ἐφθοῦμος, as well as Ἀπλωλεούς and Ἀπποῦς are not mentioned by Preisigke, *op. cit.*

14. Inv. No. 14. Late second or early third century A.D. 12.1 × 4.6 cm.

Πανόμγεως {υἱός}
Παψάϊτος υἱός Πανίνου Θου-
πομσῶνις

- II. 2/3. Θουπομσῶνις is not mentioned by Preisigke, *op. cit.*

15. Inv. No. 15. Late second or early third century A.D. 9.6 × 4.6 cm. The verso has Demotic script.

Ἰβείωνος
Σενύριος νε(ώτερος) Πετεμεί-
νιος (ἐτῶν) κ

- I. 1. *Corr.* from Ἰβήωνος. For the village in question cp. Preisigke-Kießling, *op. cit.* III pp. 301 f.

16. Inv. No. 23 = Whyte Bequest 1315. Late second or early third century A.D. 10 × 13.9 cm. On the verso a drawing of Anubis. Acquired in 1932, the original owner being Canon Greenwell.

Πατεαλωλῖς
ἐβίωσεν
ἐτῶν
λε

XI. Rome.

- CIG 6243 = IG XIV 1683 = Kaibel, *op. cit.* No. 607. Transferred from Trinity College in 1924.

XII. Britain.

- IG XIV 2550. Acquired in 1884.

XIII. Uncertain Provenance.

1. CIG 6852. Transferred from Trinity College in 1924.
2. Grave epigram. Unpublished. From the Barratt Collection. Transferred from the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in 1869. Cp. *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Proceedings* XXXIX (1940) p. 98. Marble. Height 14.6 cm., length 24 cm., thickness 0.6 cm.

Μή με γον(ε)ῖς πενθῆσ[αι, ἄχους δέ]
λάθεσθε κρυώδους* Οὐ γὰρ δῆ]
μ' Ἀἰδᾶ κατέχ(ε)ι σκότος, ἀλλὰ ν[υ νή-]
σους* ἔλλαχον, αἱ μακαρῶν (ε)ἰσι[ν ἔδη,]
5 ὄθι με* ἡ μία Μουσάων ἄγαγετ' [εὐμενέως*]
Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Ὑμεναῖος* *Εἰ[η]
ἔτη* ιθ

1. 1. [ἄχους δέ] W. Morel.
1. 2. [δῆ] W. Morel.
11. 3/4. For the νῆσοι μακαρῶν mentioned by Pindar and numerous later authors, cp. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* V 2470 f. art. Elysion.
1. 4. [ἔδη], e.g., W. Morel.
1. 5. [εὐμενέως], e.g., W. Morel.
3. Unpublished. Limestone. This inscription, which is difficult to read, is preserved in the Egyptian Department of the Fitzwilliam Museum, but seems to be non-Egyptian (cp. the system of figures used in lines 6, 7, 9 and 10). The right-hand part and the lower lines of the text are lost. Script of the second or third centuries A.D. Length 21.4 cm. (original length before the loss of the right-hand part: about 39 cm.); height 30.2 cm., thickness 5.1 cm.

Ἀρχαί [τ]ὸ πᾶν γῆς ἰδρυμένο[ν
δε[. . . κ(?)]αὶ θεῖον[ώ]ς ἐθῆι κοσμητῶν(?)
ον μένονται πᾶσιν. Ὁ δὲ
[ῆ(?)] ἰδρυμένην πάντες . . .
5 οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡλίον ἦ καὶ γ[
[δ]ὲ γῆς ἐκάστης ΔΔΔ ἐν[
Τῶν δὲ ΠΔΔ τῆς ἑκατο(στῆς?) πα[
ες πᾶν καὶ εἰκοστὸν) ἐν τ[
ου, χαλκὸς δὲ οὐ (δρ.) ΗΔΔΔ[
10 [δ]ὲ [κ]αὶ προσέχει (δρ.) ΔΔΔ[

1. 5. π instead of γ is a possibility.

THE IONIAN AGORA

THE agora, the nucleus of all Greek cities, was in the beginning simply a convenient open space, around which buildings were irregularly placed. With the growth of systematic planning in Ionia a new type was evolved, and henceforth the old-fashioned agora and the Ionian existed side by side. Several years ago F. J. Tritsch wrote an account¹ of the old type of agora, taking Elis (Fig. 1) as the best example. Since then Athens has yielded richer and more interesting material. The new evidence clarifies and confirms the picture drawn by Tritsch, which may still be accepted as true in principle. One might, however, attempt a brief general account of the new or Ionian agora, which has not perhaps been given the place it deserves in the history of Hellenic architecture. Finally, since remarkable Hellenistic

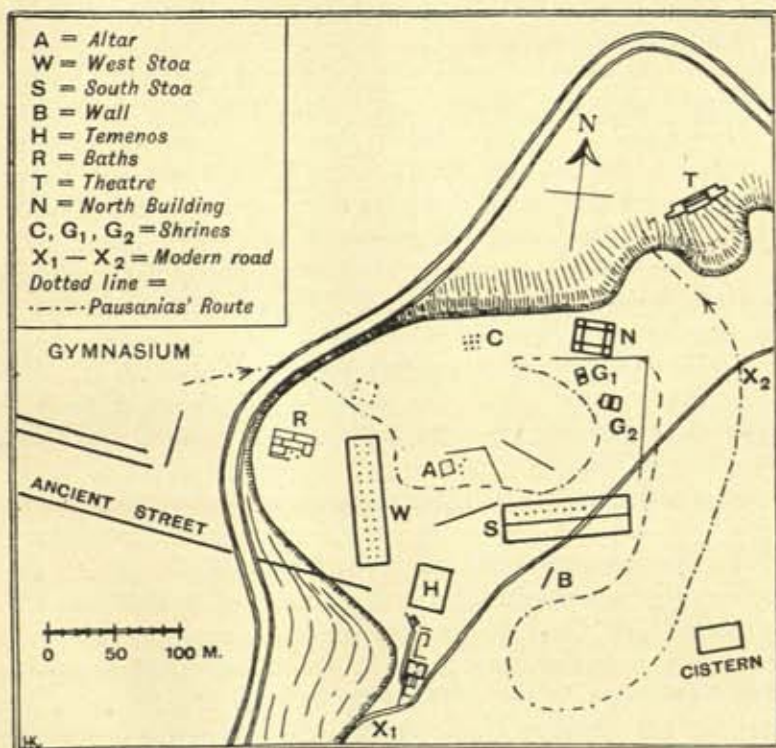


FIG. 1.—ELIS: EXCAVATIONS IN AND AROUND AGORA.
(From *Oe. J.* XXVII, fig. 77.)

developments have been revealed in the Athenian agora, one is prompted to ask whether the influence of new ideas and methods produced modifications in the older type.

The difference between the two kinds of agora depends on the treatment of the stoas, as Pausanias² realised. The stoa was, in fact, the most characteristic building of the classical Greek town, particularly of its agora. Dependent and interior uses of colonnades are not particularly Hellenic; they were common in Egyptian and Minoan-Mycenean architecture, and were perhaps traditional in Greece. The stoa which was so characteristic of the Hellenic cities was an independent architectural unit. Possibly it was evolved from earlier dependent forms. One is tempted to see in some features of the later Greek town the result of the opening-up or spreading-out of a royal palace, as royal functions were split up between

¹ *Jahreshefte des Öst. Arch. Inst.* xxvii. (1932), 64-105.

² VI. xxiv. 2.

magistrates. The hearth of the Prytaneion is the royal hearth. The chamber where the king meets his counsellors becomes the Bouleuterion, the shrines become independent temples. In place of the colonnades of the palace courts are stoas built on the public places of the city, providing the citizens with pleasant spots in which to gather and talk and do business. The connexion may be fanciful. The type of architecture which might have been labelled 'stoic', if the word had not been appropriated for higher uses, was natural in Greece in any case; it suited the climate, was adaptable to a variety of uses and had great architectural possibilities. Whatever its origin,³ the stoa—later a combination of stoas—was developed as an independent factor and became a dominating feature.

In the old-fashioned agora the buildings in general and the stoas in particular were irregularly placed, and did not form a single architectural whole, except perhaps in a vague sense. The words used by Pausanias about Elis probably imply more than that the stoas were 'separated' from each other—the north stoa at Ionian Priene was separated from the rest; 'standing independently of one another' perhaps conveys his meaning better, or even 'scattered here and there.' The picture he tries to give is of an area cut up by streets and with stoas placed as separate units about it.

When he speaks of 'the cities of Ionia and the Greek cities near Ionia,' Pausanias is no doubt thinking of those which, like Miletus and Priene, were laid out and built according to a single scheme. He implies by contrast that in these the agora was distinguished by groups of stoas built contiguous to one another, and forming a single whole. Though by Pausanias' time certain alien tendencies had set in, this is, in fact, precisely what characterises the agoras of the best-planned towns. One need not go further and single out a particular scheme as the regular type. The so-called 'horseshoe'⁴—three stoas at right angles—was favoured, but there were variations and other possibilities. Before good examples were revealed by excavation it was often assumed that the ideal consisted of four stoas completely enclosing a rectangular space. This idea, though thoroughly disproved,⁵ dies hard. Vitruvius⁶ certainly says that the Greeks made their 'fora' 'in quadrato'; but he is describing a late type, which can hardly be all that the agora in the full sense of the word was to a classical town.

To investigate the real nature of the Ionian agora one must go back to Hippodamus and fifth-century town-planning. The Hippodamian system did not change the vital character of the Greek city⁷—old and new cities alike were all that 'polis' implies, and had the same essential parts. But architecturally the reforms were important enough. The development which had formerly been haphazard and partly unconscious was now carefully controlled and subordinated to a fixed design, though not necessarily much more rapid. The agora was still at first a convenient open space in which the citizens could gather for various purposes; but it had its proper place in the dominating system of sets of parallel streets at right angles to each other. Possible future needs could be calculated better than before in planning the whole city and in assigning a place to the agora. An area of suitable size and situation was reserved.

This is all one can say as far as the fifth century is concerned. The task of evolving appropriate building schemes was left to the fourth and later centuries. Hippodamus came from Miletus to apply the new methods at Peiraeus in the middle of the fifth, and the agora was called 'Hippodameia' after him, but this need not mean more than that he allotted its position and marked it out; there is no reason to believe that he erected stoas or other buildings around; indeed, the fact that a house could stand upon it in the fourth century⁸

³ G. Leroux (*Origines de l'Édifice Hypostyle*, p. 185) called the stoa (in its common form with interior columns) an elongated megaron with a central row of interior supports, of which one side has been replaced by a colonnade. But the essential openness of the stoa makes it different in principle from any kind of megaron. Possibly its simplest form (as in the stoa of the Athenians at Delphi) was suggested by simple lean-to shelters placed against a wall, and other forms were developed from this.

⁴ The German writers constantly use the term 'Hufeisen'; the arrangement could be compared more aptly to goal-posts.

⁵ A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen*, p. 94.

⁶ V. i.

⁷ Cf. Tritsch, *Die Stadtbildungen des Altertums und die Griechische Polis*, *Klio*, xxii. (1929), 1–83; see p. 76.

⁸ Cf. Demosthenes (?) xlix. 22; see W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (1931), p. 452.

indicates that even then a certain openness was preserved. Little is known of this agora; it was probably a large square, a centre of both commerce and political life.

The richest material for the history of the Ionian agora is provided by Miletus, greatest of the Ionian cities (Fig. 2). Here one can see what could be done at a city with growing resources, whose architects were gifted with powers of vision. Miletus was, of course, a very ancient town, and irregular in its archaic form. Its destruction by the Persians was very thorough, and the Milesian survivors, unlike the returning Athenians, planned a new and modern city. The chessboard plan seems to have involved the whole peninsula from the first,⁹ though building would proceed slowly as the population grew and prosperity gradually returned. The Milesians apparently had visions of their city regaining much of its former greatness, and planned accordingly. An extensive central area, comparatively low-lying and

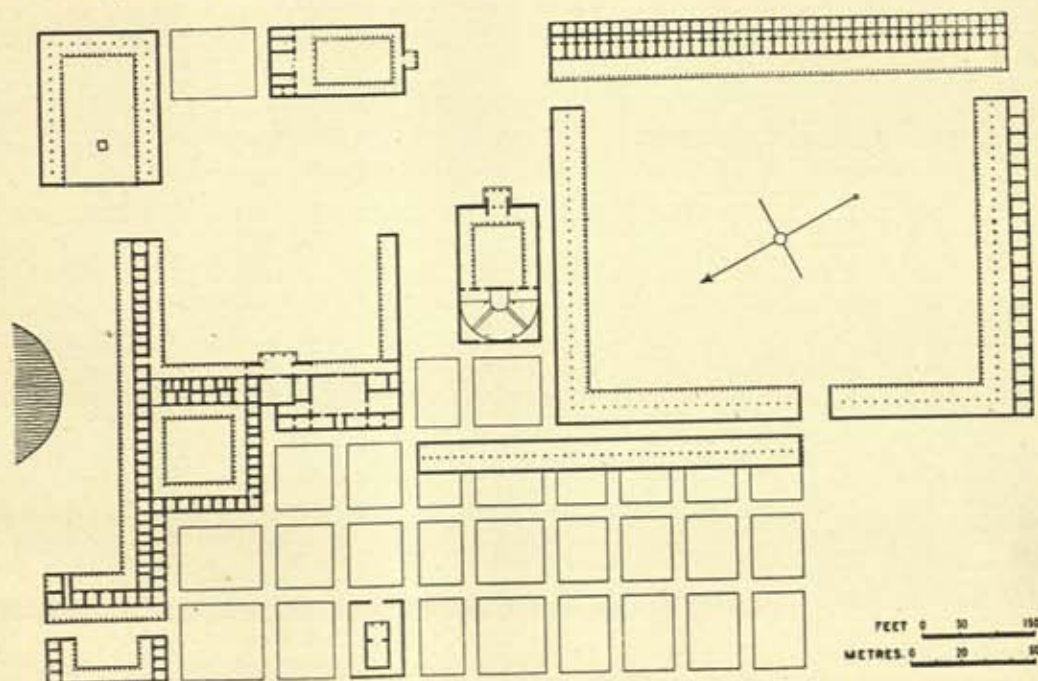


FIG. 2.—MILETUS: AGORA AREA IN MIDDLE OF SECOND CENTURY B.C.
(Plans from *Milet*, I. ii, vi and vii.)

flat, was reserved for development as agora—there is no sign of houses having to be cleared away for the great architectural schemes carried out later.¹⁰

Early in the fourth century the agora had hardly even begun to assume an impressive architectural form. A structure resembling a large house¹¹—possibly the Prytaneion—was one of the first important buildings; later it was incorporated in the north agora complex. The latter began to take shape at the end of the century. A long Doric stoa, with a row of small rooms behind, was built facing north towards the harbour; a short wing made a return northwards at the west end, and behind the main stoa was a square, colonnaded court with rooms around. This, the first great building scheme of the new agora, gave the town a fine water-front, and provided facilities for the merchants as Miletus recovered its mercantile prosperity.¹²

The distinguishing feature of Ionian agora-planning can be seen in the building. The

⁹ Von Gerkan, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Fabricius (Pauly-Wissowa, II Reihe, Halbb. 6, pp. 1928 ff., section 11) thinks the southern part a somewhat later extension.

¹⁰ *Milet*, I. vi (Nordmarkt), p. 87.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I. vi, p. 89.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 90; for the gradual return of prosperity in the fifth century (cf. Athenian tribute lists) and the fourth, see A. G. Dunham, *History of Miletus* (London U.P., 1915), pp. 107, 108, 117.

architects who adorned the older cities' agoras designed stoas which as units were both practically and aesthetically satisfying. Ionian architects in the fourth and following centuries fully realised and explored the possibilities of combining stoas at right angles to form appropriate and impressive schemes.

An arrangement which was repeatedly found convenient was the 'horseshoe,' in which three stoas formed three sides of a rectangle, the fourth being occupied by an important street with public buildings or another stoa beyond it. One can hardly regard the 'horseshoe' as the result of the mere extension of the shallow projecting wings sometimes added to single stoas—the Stoa of Zeus at Athens, for instance. The wings of the latter are not much more than ornamental terminations, and face the same way as the central colonnade; the sides of the 'horseshoe' have their façades at right angles to the central part, and are stoas in themselves.

The 'horseshoe' was introduced in a modified form and on a vast scale at Miletus in the south agora-complex,¹³ on which building activity was concentrated in the course of the third century, though possibly it was planned earlier. On the east a long single stoa was built with three rows of rooms behind—these were no doubt shops and warehouses. Facing it on the west were two L-shaped stoas with double colonnades; only the southern, which was probably two-storeyed, had rooms behind. The west side was thus not a continuous stoa, as was the south side at Priene, and additional means of access to the vast place was provided; but the unity and grandeur of the design were hardly impaired by this, or by the fact that the process of building required so long and probably fell into several stages—the south wing may be as late as the middle of the second century B.C.¹⁴ The south agora, says von Gerkan,¹⁵ was conceived as 'Staatsmarkt'; but the east stoa, an important part of the scheme, probably completed at an early stage, was, as he admits, devoted to trade. The huge scale of the stoas, their openness and freedom in large sections from encumbering rooms, may have given the south agora greater civic dignity than the north, which was more of a 'Kaufmarkt'; but the two areas are not to be differentiated clearly or opposed to one another in function.

The political centre of Miletus was perhaps defined as being between them, by the erection of the Bouleuterion, a small covered theatre with a colonnaded court, between 175 and 164 B.C.¹⁶ The north complex had undergone little extension for some time, except that a small 'horseshoe' had been placed behind the west wing; but in the middle of the second century, with the addition of an L-shaped wing on the south-east,¹⁷ displacing part of the Prytaneion, another and much larger 'horseshoe' was formed. What is probably a small temple was unobtrusively inserted in the middle of the long west side; the colonnades incidentally provided it with a fine fore-court. The east side, opposite the temple, was left quite open for the time being, though some distance farther east, and south of the colonnaded court of the Delphinion, a gymnasium was built.

At this stage—towards the end of the Hellenistic period and before the period of Roman domination—the Milesian agora area had attained a form which was complete and satisfying, and which the renewed building of the Roman imperial age, following a period of depression in Asia under the Roman republic, could elaborate and complicate according to the fashions of the time without making any real improvement. The architects had been guided throughout by the original rectangular street plan of the city, and had made good use of the opportunities it left them; the result was worthy of a great city. The Bouleuterion marked the political centre, with the maritime agora on one side, and the great south agora, for business not immediately connected with the sea and for recreation and general purposes, on the other. The design was simple and spacious, aesthetically pleasing and practically convenient.¹⁸

¹³ *Milet*, I. vii.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁶ *Milet*, I. ii.

¹⁷ *Milet*, I. vi. 91-3.

¹⁸ Von Gerkan's restoration (*Milet*, I. vi. Taf. xxvii) gives a good idea of the appearance of a large part; it includes one feature which is a rather later development—the wall across the east side of the north agora.

Priene¹⁹ (Fig. 3) is well known and is much simpler. One need only emphasise certain points. The agora was planned with the rest of the city in the fourth century, and was built at first on the basis of a simple 'horseshoe'; on east, south and west were continuous stoas with shops. Subsequently there were extensions and modifications. About 300 B.C. the sanctuary of Zeus was placed back to back with the eastern stoa, breaking into the line of shops. The temple had its own little court; neither here nor elsewhere were the agora stoas allowed to degenerate into a mere setting for a temple. They stood in their own right, and were the basis of the agora's architecture; they were the setting for human activity rather than for some architectural masterpiece. Important shrines stood near by; at Priene the temenos of Athena occupied the terrace to the north-west, but though the temple was well



FIG. 3.—THE CENTRAL PART OF PRIENE.
(From the model by H. Schleif in the Pergamon Museum at Berlin.)

placed on a commanding site, the agora still dominated the plan and the inner life of the city.

The westward extension—a small rectangular space for the use of butchers and fishmongers—is architecturally unimportant, but interesting from another point of view; it shows a tendency to segregate the less dignified forms of trade. In early times the same open agora must have sufficed for political and other gatherings and for shopping crowds. Later, even in the old type of agora, something was done towards providing separate places for different functions, though only to a limited extent. One might have expected that on carefully planned sites the process would be fully carried out; but it is doubtful whether this was ever the case in the Ionian towns. The agora was still not clearly divisible according to functions; still less were there political and commercial agoras side by side.²⁰ Closely related stoas continued to serve a variety of purposes—political and commercial, religious and social. Their numerous rooms are often difficult to identify; many were probably shops, some

¹⁹ T. Wiegand, *Priene* (agora, ch. vi, especially pp. 214–17); M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene* (agora, ch. v).

²⁰ Aristotle (*Politics*, VII. xii. 2, 3, 1331a, b) recommends that, as in Thessaly, there should be an ἀεθίρα agora, free or 'pure' of trade, and of a religious (and, it appears, rather snobbish) character; and another and separate

agora τῶν ὀρίων. This is hardly normal or natural in a Greek city—Aristotle goes to Thessaly for his example—and is not, I think, characteristic of the Ionian planned towns. There is something comparable to it in temple courts adjacent to the agora as at Priene and Magnesia, but these are not rival agoras.

government offices, some shrines. The civic buildings of Priene were mostly on the north side, across the main street.²¹

The most important development at Priene was the erection on the north of a magnificent stoa—called Sacred, and containing shrines and probably public offices—which considerably changed the appearance and character of the agora about the middle of the second century. Replacing a much more modest building, the new stoa extended a good deal farther eastwards, along the front of the Ekklesiasterion and the Prytaneion, and since a colonnade was built opposite its eastern end, on the south side of the street, the agora now had a handsome extension in this direction. The city centre of Priene was one of which such a small community might well be proud. It blended perfectly into the plan of the town, and was admirably adapted to the citizens' needs.

At Priene we have the Ionian agora as developed in a small town, at Miletus as in a great commercial city. Magnesia on the Maeander²² falls somewhere between the two.

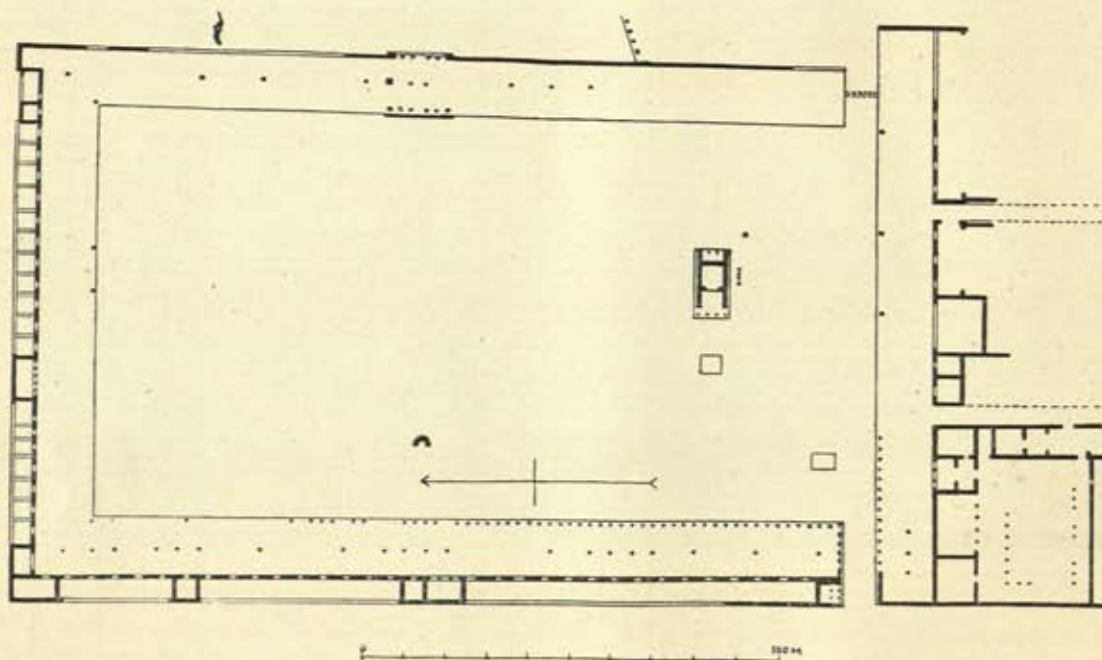


FIG. 4.—MAGNESIA: AGORA.
(From C. Humann, *Magnesia*.)

The city was transferred, early in the fourth century, from a site farther away in the Maeander plain to the northern foot of Mount Thorax, where the sanctuary of Artemis had long stood. The plan is by no means so clear as that of Priene, but apparently the streets were orientated exactly east to west and north to south, as at Priene, but not at Miletus, where the direction of the peninsula determined the orientation. The agora (Fig. 4) was fitted into this scheme, unlike the shrine of Artemis near by. The relation of the two was interesting. The great temple of Artemis, with the Doric colonnades on the north, south and east of its courtyard, for some, possibly religious, reason had to have a distinctly different orientation. We have already seen how temples were not allowed to dominate the plan of the agora; so at Magnesia, where the two came into awkward contact, the agora prevailed, and the sacred enclosure was cut off obliquely and awkwardly at the point of contact on the east.

This agora was second only to the south market of Miletus in size and magnificence. Not quite a perfect rectangle, it was 188 m. long, 99 m. broad on the north and 95 m. on the south. The stoas took shape in the latter part of the third century, a brilliant building

²¹ Contrast the east stoa of the south agora at Miletus, with its shops and stores.

²² C. Humann, etc., *Magnesia am Maeander* (agora, pp. 3 ff., 22 and 107 ff.).

period at Magnesia, though the agora had probably been planned earlier. Double colonnades (outer columns Doric, inner Ionic as usual) were erected on each of the four sides, the northern, eastern and western being continuous. Usually the three connected stoas were one long and two short sides of a rectangle, at Magnesia they were one short and two long; the type was not rigidly fixed and was varied to suit local convenience. A street, at first left quite open,²³ separated the south stoa from the rest. A propylon led to the enclosure of Artemis on the east; on the north and west was a series of small rooms, most of which were shops, though one was a fountain-house and two small shrines. The buildings behind the south stoa included what was probably the Prytaneion. Streets approaching from the south broke the line of rooms, but not the colonnade, on this side. As was usual, various monuments stood on the open area. Among them was a temple, but it was small, and hardly changed the character of the square; its position and size made it not the focal point, but merely the

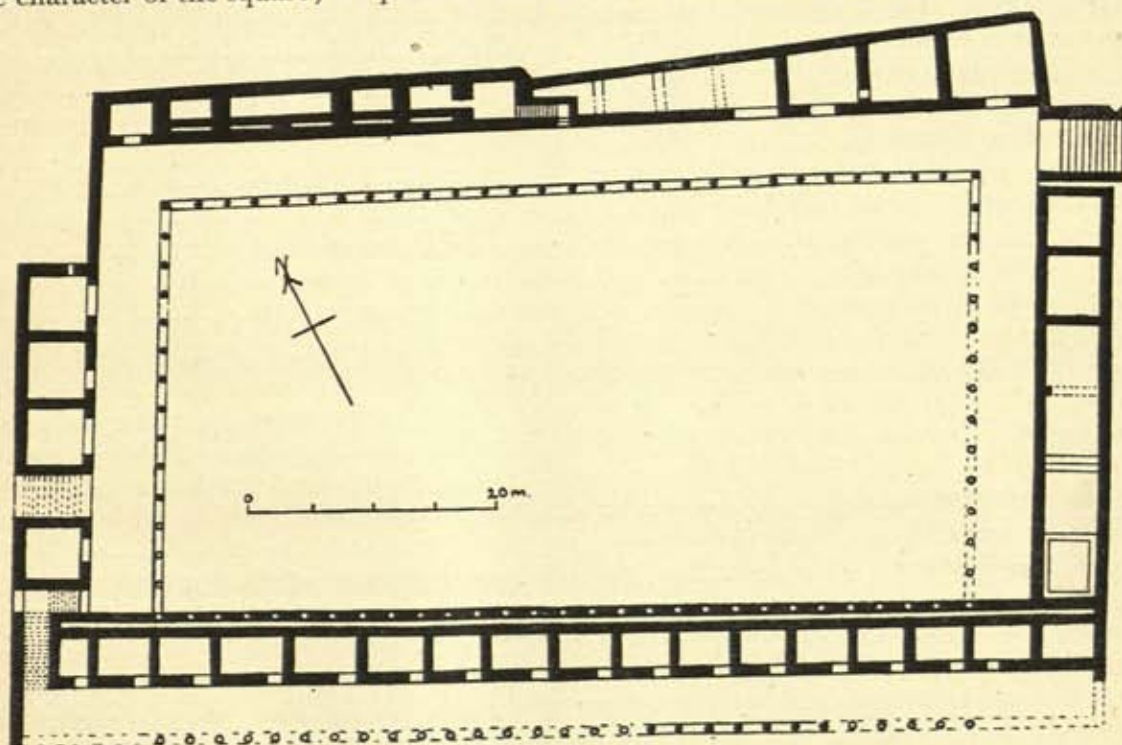


FIG. 5.—PERGAMON: LOWER AGORA.
(From *Ath. Mitt.* 1902, Taf. II.)

most important of the minor monuments. The variety of function of the buildings associated with the agora is to be noted. Public life in various forms was concentrated in one and the same place; there is little evidence of the tendency to reserve one site as civic centre and another as market-place.

These three—particularly Miletus and Priene, since their monuments are more fully explored—at this stage of their history are examples of what may reasonably be called the true Ionian agora, the type which was evolved to suit Ionian town-planning, and which was still a classical agora in the full sense of the word—this cannot be said of some later specimens. Comparison with the old-fashioned agora reveals not only a well-marked difference in architectural form, but also a vital connexion and similarity in spirit. The true Hellenic agora, whether carefully planned or not, was the innermost zone, the nucleus, and was closely knit into the fabric of the city. Public activities were concentrated and mingled in it; the city's life-blood flowed freely in and out. It was the centre of business and political life, with a

²³ Though possibly steps connected the east and south stoas even before the gate (see below) was built (see *Magnesia*, p. 110).

strong religious element too. It was not merely an ornamental public square or a market-place, but included both these and more. All this applies to the Ionian agora as much as to the old. It was the heart of the city, and was not exclusive in any way or segregated from the rest, but directly and vitally linked with it. I once argued²⁴ that in the Hippodamian scheme the agora lost something of the focal position which it had in the old towns, where the streets radiated outwards roughly like the spokes of a wheel; but the loss was superficial; the agora was still directly involved in the street system;²⁵ the activities of the citizens merged there, and varied streams of energy flowed in. For these reasons one might call the Ionian agora a Hellenic creation, brought to completion in the Hellenistic age. Many of the Asiatic towns enjoyed a good deal of freedom in the time of some Hellenistic rulers, and continued to function as before with little outward change—sometimes actually gaining ground commercially, sometimes helped on by royal munificence without the burdens of royal tyranny. The architectural development which was possible under these conditions, particularly at Miletus, was a continuation of the work of Hippodamus and the early planners; its products show dignity, restraint and orderliness of design, and although the fifth-century exquisiteness of form has gone, deserve to be recognised amongst the notable achievements of Hellenic architecture.

The contrast with a thoroughly Hellenistic town, Pergamon, is illuminating. The kings of Pergamon spared no money to create a beautiful city and a centre of Greek civilisation. They succeeded, but their creation was not a typical Greek city, and did not possess a real agora. The 'lower agora' of Pergamon²⁶ (Fig. 5) was a slightly irregular peristyle, fully enclosed, with two-storeyed colonnades and numerous shops. It was a handsome market building, but did not play the full part of an agora in the scheme and life of the town. There was also an 'upper agora,'²⁷ which was only a part, and not one of the most important or conspicuous parts at that, of the series of great monuments adorning the upper city (Fig. 6). The road which ascended to the acropolis passed through without accommodating itself to the agora level. The stoas on the right of the road formed a 'horseshoe.' On the north the terrace of the great altar cut into the area and made its shape irregular. Above the agora on ascending terraces were the altar, the sanctuary of Athena, the library and other monuments. The agora was clearly a mere appendage of this great design.

It has been said²⁸ that Pergamon, as compared with the unimaginative chessboard towns, is the creation of a real planner. Certainly the Attalids brought into being a fine city. But Miletus, and perhaps even Priene, need not fear comparison. Pergamon was the work of royal architects, with vast resources, giving free play to their masters' fancies and their own, and spreading over the hillside buildings which were very magnificent but not altogether vital to city life, with hands as lavish as those of the sculptors who decorated the great altar. Miletus was the work of real town-builders.

Hellenistic Delos, too, presents a contrast, though in a different way (Fig. 7). Delos in that age was transformed into a great commercial centre; its form was not that of a normal Greek city, but of an international clearing-house. Various monarchs and wealthy merchants and corporations contributed to the growth, and the result naturally showed a certain lack of balance and design. Buildings connected with the commerce of the town sprawled over a wide area, but the agora proper was concentrated south of the sanctuary of Apollo, with its temples and stoas, and east of the harbour, and there in the latter part of the third century and the first half of the second a number of stoas accumulated without close coherence of design.²⁹ More interesting and possibly more important for Delian trade are the large warehouses which line the quays to the south,³⁰ the establishments of individual merchants,

²⁴ *Classical Quarterly*, Jan. 1937, p. 29.

²⁵ The way in which the agora and its stoas are fitted into the street plan is a very important question; see von Gerkan, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

²⁶ *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1902, pp. 16 ff.; and 1904, p. 114. The shops on the south side belonged to a storey

below agora level and faced outwards.

²⁷ *Altortümer von Pergamon*, III. i. 93 ff.

²⁸ T. Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture*, p. 170.

²⁹ *BCH* xxvi. 480 ff. and xxxv. 271-2; *Délos*, VII. (R. Vallois, *Le Portique de Philippe*).

³⁰ *BCH* xxix. 6 ff.

with rooms round a square colonnaded court. The central agora was overshadowed also by certain buildings to the north associated with the commerce of Delos. The Hypostyle Hall³¹ may have been a kind of exchange. Some of the more prominent foreign communities erected establishments of their own; the Italians' 'agora,'³² built towards the end of the second century, was a quadrilateral court completely enclosed by colonnades with rooms and exedrae behind, and was the largest building in Delos. It was not a public market, but a

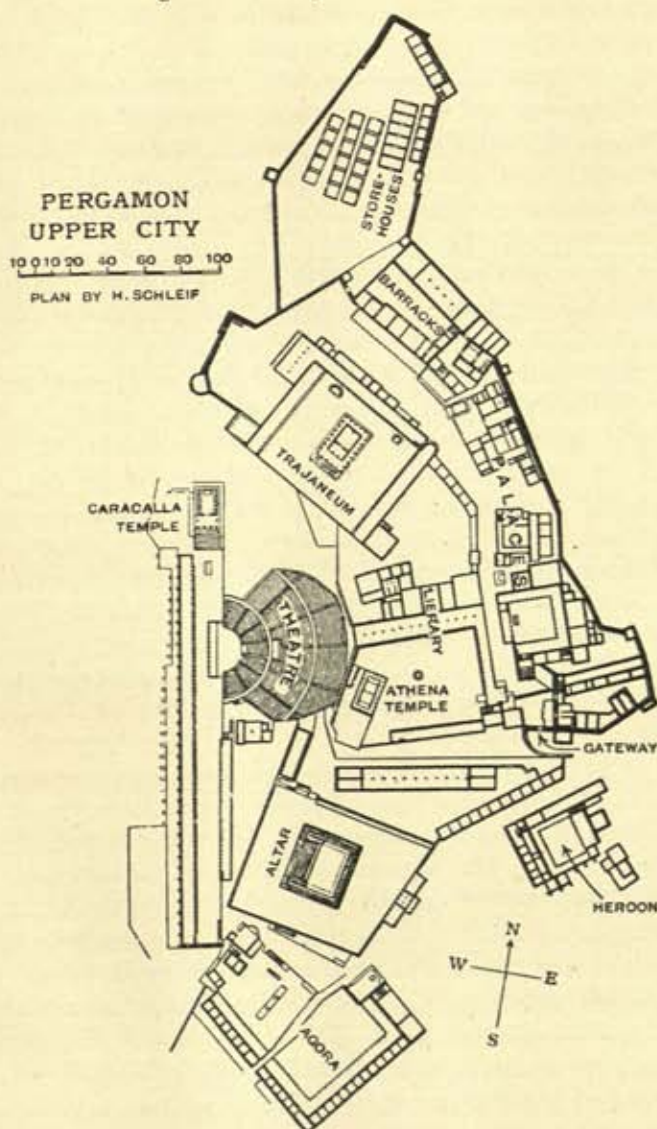


FIG. 6.—PERGAMON: ACROPOLIS AND UPPER AGORA.
(From Pauly-Wissowa XIX. 1, p. 1235, fig. 3.)

private meeting-place for the Italian colony's general uses. The central area of Delos was not a normal agora, but a cosmopolitan Hellenistic trading centre, irregularly built and hemming in the ancient shrine of Apollo.

The form of the Italian building raises again the question of the part played by the fully enclosed peristyle court in agora planning. The idea that the peristyle was the ideal form of the agora, the culmination of a process in which the Priene type, not fully enclosed, was an intermediate stage, still seems plausible and attractive. It plays an important part

³¹ *Délos*, ii (G. Leroux, *La Salle Hypostyle*), p. 51.

³² *BCH* viii. 112 ff.; xxxvi. 117.

in J. C. Wymer's theory of ancient 'Marktplatzanlagen';³³ Wymer goes farther, and sees the influence of the Greek peristyle agora in the Roman imperial fora. Von Gerkan points out³⁴ the lateness of the peristyles, and shows that the influence worked, in fact, rather in the opposite direction. If the view expressed above of the real nature of the agora in both irregular and planned cities is correct, the peristyle was different in conception from both the classical types. Instead of being an ideal and the culmination of the development, in its complete enclosure and seclusion from the city around it contained an alien element which made it less fully an agora. The ideal was approached, if anywhere, at Miletus and Priene.

In the fourth century and Hellenistic age the peristyle court played an increasingly important part in architecture. It was used in houses, gymnasia and the fore-courts of sacred and civic buildings. It could serve as a market-building, as part of an agora. We have already met examples; and two comparatively early specimens, one from a new and one from an old-fashioned agora, are the square court in the north complex at Miletus, and a peristyle 59 m. square (possibly fourth century) of which the foundations were recently found partly under the Stoa of Attalus at Athens.³⁵ In Roman times there was a greater tendency to plan the agora as a whole on these lines, and to make it an enclosed building turning in upon itself. City life had lost something of its true quality, and the agora had a less vital part to play, a less intimate relation with all the varied activities of the community. Ephesus, Aphrodisias (probably), Nysa and some towns of southern Asia Minor provide examples of the peristyle agora.³⁶ In some cases the influence of the forum is clearly at work.

To follow up these later developments is outside our present scope. One may note, however, that these tendencies had some effect at Miletus and Magnesia. At Magnesia in Roman times the street which separated the south stoa from the rest was built over by columnar gateways, and the enclosure of the area made complete.³⁷ In the second century A.D. the south agora of Miletus was made into a regular peristyle, broken only by the narrow gap on the west;³⁸ the east stoa was made uniform and continuous with the others. Before this, symptoms had already appeared of the more radical changes to follow. Light gateways had been built across the north-east and probably also the south-east entrances to the south agora;³⁹ and a little later, towards the middle of the first century B.C., a wall with a handsome propylon in the middle was built shutting in the east side of the north agora.⁴⁰ The area east of this, leading from the harbour to the Bouleuterion, developed by several stages into a colonnaded street. The vigorous outburst of building activity in the second century A.D. was marked not only by the more complete enclosure of large open areas, but also by the excessive and functionless architectural elaboration which had become popular by that time. The north gate of the south agora, and the gorgeous façade of the Nymphaeum near by, were built in this ornate style,⁴¹ and with certain minor structures hemmed in more closely the space in front of the Bouleuterion. The agora area of Miletus attained its greatest magnificence in this age, but adaptation to prevailing fashions tended to destroy the openness, spaciousness and simplicity preserved in the Hellenistic stoas, and to impair the character of the site as an agora.

Ionian methods of town-planning were applied sparingly in European Greece, as far as

³³ *Marktplatzanlagen der Griechen und Römer*, Dresdener Diss., 1916. Wymer says (p. 22) that the forum of Caesar, in the middle of which was the temple of Venus, embodied the Ionic ideal regular enclosed place; apart from the question of enclosure, we have seen that a temple was not allowed to dominate the real Ionian agora.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

³⁵ *Hesperia*, VI. iii (1937), 354.

³⁶ *Forschungen in Ephesos*, iii. 89 ff. (the agora of Ephesus, of which fanciful pictures have been drawn, is only known in a late form; the Hellenistic form cannot be determined); *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, p. 749, and *Rev. Arch.*, 1938 (2), p. 228 (Aphrodisias); W. van Diest, etc., *Nysa ad Maeandrum*,

pp. 33 ff.; K. Graf Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (e.g., Kremna, ii. 161, which shows influence of forum); the small 'agora' of Cnidus (*Antiquities of Ionia*, III. ch. ii. p. 42), cited by Wymer (p. 19), according to von Gerkan (p. 94) was not large enough for the purpose, and may have been the court of a gymnasium, but in position and form it has some resemblance to the warehouses of Delos.

³⁷ *Magnesia*, pp. 5, 109 and 110.

³⁸ *Milet*, I. vii. 51 ff.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I. vii. 47.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I. vi. 94.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I. v.

one can judge. One might expect that even though the inhabitants of an old city were unable or unwilling to give it a complete new plan, the agora could have assumed a regular form; but the process of regularisation does not appear to have gone beyond certain limits. Tritsch has shown how even the agora of Elis, though built in the fifth century, represents the old-fashioned type. Considerably later, the agora of Megalopolis was planned and built on a magnificent scale; one of the excavators described it as laid out in Ionian style;⁴² but though the buildings were placed regularly along the four sides of a rectangle, and two stoas were very long, occupying each the greater part of one side, the units had not the close co-ordination of the Ionian scheme; open passages run freely between the buildings; we look in vain for combinations of stoas; the Stoa of Philip (and perhaps the Myropolis too) is a self-contained architectural unity; with its shallow projecting wings, it is a prolongation of the form of the Stoa of Zeus at Athens. This agora, though it has features which distinguish it from Elis, is hardly Ionian.

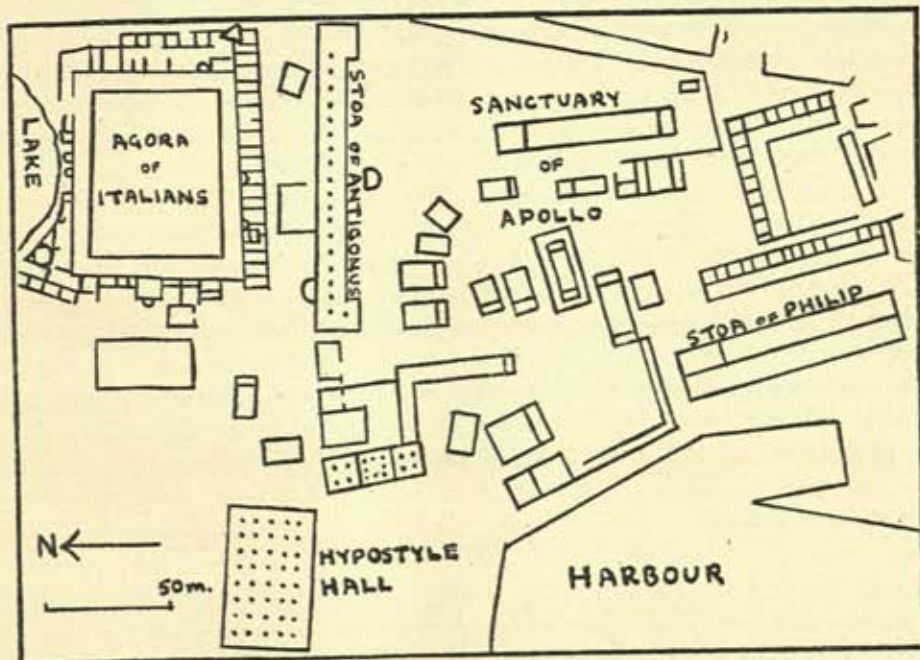


FIG. 7.—DELOS: CENTRAL AREA.
(From P. Roussel, *Délos*.)

On other sites, too, the rectangular form of the agora was more clearly defined. From the end of the fifth century stoas of great length (in the neighbourhood of 100 m.) were not unusual. At Corinth, where the agora had perhaps originally been concentrated east of the temple hill, though it spread round other sides too, the centre of gravity shifted in the fourth century to the south, where an extensive area was cleared; at a date which has not yet been made clear, a very long stoa was built along the southern edge.⁴³ The recent excavations at Athens have revealed unsuspected building activity in the Hellenistic age, producing a striking change in the appearance and character of the agora. The Stoa of Attalus extended over 100 m. along the east side; now that the researches of the Americans are well advanced, it

⁴² E. A. Gardner, etc., *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 102; G. C. Richards also found that the excavations confirmed in every point Curtius' old restoration, which, while placing the monuments with accuracy, seriously misrepresented the character of the agora by making the colonnades all continuous.

⁴³ *AJA* xxxvii. 1933, 555 ff.; the stoa was much reconstructed and complicated in Roman times. A shorter stoa on the north side of the area, immediately south of the

temple hill, was built possibly at the end of the fourth century (*AJA* xxx. 1926, 47). At Orchomenos in Arcadia (*BCH* 1914, pp. 71 ff.) a long stoa, possibly of the fourth century, was placed on the north side of the agora, and at right angles to it on the east, though separate and at a lower level, was another long narrow building. The agora of Mantinea was given its fairly regular enclosed form only by the building schemes of Epigone in the first century A.D. (G. Fougères, *Mantineia*, pp. 179 ff.).

no longer stands in isolation, but takes its place among a series of buildings which were roughly contemporary and must have been parts of a more or less co-ordinated scheme. At right angles to the Stoa of Attalus, but quite distinct from it, a building 150 m. long and of peculiar form was placed across the whole of the south part of the agora; ⁴⁴ both sides and both ends were open colonnades, and there was a row of interior supports joined, at least in their lower parts, by curtain walls. This building faced both ways; for the agora extended farther south, and there were important monuments beyond it. The extreme southern limit was marked by a simpler and rather shorter stoa parallel with the other. ⁴⁵ Not much could be done to bring the old buildings strung out along the west side into line with the new elements; but when the Metroon towards the south end of these assumed a more extensive and complicated form, a continuous colonnade, nearly 39 m. long, was built on the east front, ⁴⁶ giving a uniform façade to a miscellaneous assemblage of rooms. The Metroon still followed the ancient line of the west buildings, which formed a slightly acute angle with the peripteral stoa. The agora, or at least part of it, was now something approaching a regular colonnaded square, but it was not Ionian in form. Ionian planning may have had some general influence in the direction of regularisation, but in some points Pergamene influence is clear. The kings of Pergamon, of course, contributed freely to the monuments of Athens in this period. In the agora the east stoa was associated with Attalus II (159-138 B.C.), and Pergamene munificence may have contributed in general to the schemes. In architectural form, parallels are found at Pergamon and in the Pergamene sphere of influence. Two-storeyed colonnades, as in the Stoa of Attalus, are especially characteristic of Pergamon. ⁴⁷ Stoas with open colonnades at the back as well as the front are found in the Pergamene sphere in some examples of a type of market-building erected on sloping ground—the inner colonnade opened directly on the agora, the outer, facing down the hillside, crowned one or more lower storeys. ⁴⁸ H. A. Thompson notes in the scheme of the Metroon something similar to the Pergamene library. ⁴⁹ Not even in the second century, it appears, did the Athenians carry out a scheme attributed by Dr. Dörpfeld ⁵⁰ to Kimon in the fifth, and reproduce at Athens the agoras of the cities of Ionia.

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⁴⁴ *Hesperia*, V. i (9th report). 4-6.

⁴⁵ *Hesperia*, VI. iii (12th report). 357. Slight remains have also more recently been found of a late Hellenistic stoa in the eastern part of the north side of the agora, extending to within a short distance of the Attalus stoa (*Hesperia*, viii. 213).

⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, VI. i. 172 ff. Plan IX, facing page 360, gives a clear idea of the effect of the new buildings, if one thinks away the later Odeion.

⁴⁷ Von Gerkan, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 and 137; two storeys are found in the lower agora, the shrine of Athena on the Acropolis, and elsewhere at Pergamon, and under Pergamene influence in the north stoa of the agora at Assos (F. H. Bacon, etc., *Investigations at Assos*, pp. 33 ff.).

⁴⁸ The south side of the lower agora at Pergamon may have been like this (*Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1902, p. 25); the arrangement was found in the south building of the agora at Assos.

⁴⁹ *Hesperia*, VI. i. 216.

⁵⁰ *Alt-Athen*, I. pp. 40-42 and 130, and Taf. III. Dörpfeld attributes ambitious designs to Kimon for replanning the agora. Kimon, he says, while in Ionia had seen and

admired the magnificent public places of his allies there—large squares surrounded by colonnades—and came back with the idea of building a fine new agora at Athens: in attempting to carry out his plan he may possibly have had the co-operation of Hippodamus; but the scheme was never completed; along the south side was built a great stoa, the Poikile, which is to be identified with the south stoa of the Americans; 'the stoa planned by Kimon on the north was neither then nor later carried out.' In reality, all that Kimon is said to have been responsible for is the grave of Theseus and the planting of trees, while his brother-in-law Peisianax had the Poikile built; and, while Dörpfeld's theories contain many bewildering contradictions of the carefully considered conclusions of the excavators themselves, his identification of the Poikile is particularly arbitrary, since the south stoa is attributed to the second century, and, with open colonnades all round, had no suitable field for the great paintings. What concerns us most at the moment is that, as we have seen, there is no reason to believe that his assumed Ionian models existed at all in Kimon's time.

THE PHILINNA PAPYRUS

1. *P. Amh.* 11 AND *P. Berol.* 7504: HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP.

'Too small to have more than a palaeographical interest': thus marked, the Amherst Papyrus 11 was published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1901;¹ they assigned it to cent. I B.C. For all its smallness, however, Wilamowitz remembered this text when he found a similar one in the Berlin Papyrus 7504, which he edited in 1907,² dating the hand '*spätgriechisch.*' But in quoting from the Amherst Papyrus he relied too much on his memory;³ that, and some mistakes which he made in editing the Berlin Papyrus,⁴ prevented him from making full use of his discovery.

A considerable step forward was taken by Adam Abt in 1910.⁵ He supplemented convincingly ll. 8-12 and 17-18 of the Berlin Papyrus from the text of the Amherst Papyrus. He even envisaged, and for excellent reasons, the possibility that the two papyri were parts of the same roll, but eventually decided against it because he thought that ll. 13-16 of the Berlin Papyrus could not be made to fit on to the Amherst Papyrus. Here he was wrong, as will be shown presently. But he was more wrong in not settling the whole problem for good and all by simply stating whether the hands of the two papyri are identical or not. He says nothing about the dates.

In 1931, Preisendanz⁶ in the main confined himself to a reprint of Wilamowitz's text with Abt's improvements. His silence about the hands and their dates is even more strange than Abt's, because he dates all the other papyri of his collection.⁷ He fell short of Abt in not even mentioning the parts of the Amherst Papyrus which Abt had failed to fit on to the Berlin Papyrus.⁸

In 1942, Mr. D. L. Page⁹ reprinted a part of Wilamowitz's text without Abt's improvements, adding 'Ed. pr. compare *P. Amherst*, II, 11.' When I discussed Page's book with Mr. Lobel, he drew my attention to the Amherst Papyrus.¹⁰ I soon arrived at readings and supplements which show that ll. 13-16 of the Berlin Papyrus join on to the Amherst Papyrus quite as well as do the lines joined by Abt. This means that the two papyri are contiguous parts of the same roll and that the hands must be identical. This identity cannot be demonstrated in present conditions *ad oculos*. I hope, however, that the following reconstruction of that whole which was torn into the two pieces—I shall call it the Philinna Papyrus—will be convincing by itself.

2. SOURCES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PHILINNA PAPYRUS.

- (1) A photograph of the *recto* of the Amherst fragment, in *P. Amh.* vol. II, Plate II.
- (2) A photograph of the *verso* of the Amherst fragment, supplied by the J. P. Morgan Library, New York, to the Oxford University Press in January 1943.¹¹
- (3) Grenfell and Hunt's statements about the Amherst fragment.¹²

¹ *The Amherst Papyri*, vol. 2, p. 2 and Pl. II. The Amherst Papyri are now in the J. P. Morgan Library, New York.

² *Berliner Klassikertexte*, vol. 5 (2), pp. 144 f.

³ 'Erinnert sei an Pap. Amherst II, 11, der öfter *καρὰ* bietet und *ἐπὶ λύκοι*—*ἐπὶ λόντες* *ἔρρεσαν*—; aber alles ist unverständlich.' There are four misstatements in this quotation.

⁴ See *infra*, note 13.

⁵ *Philologus* 69 (1910), 150-52. Abt died in 1918 while preparing the new edition of the two large Berlin Magical Papyri which was completed by Preisendanz (*P. Mag.*, vol. 1, 1928, nos. 1 and 2).

⁶ *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, vol. 2, no. 20. He altered the line-numbering. I keep that of Wilamowitz, as did Abt.

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⁷ I cannot ascertain if he saw the papyrus; see *infra*, note 14.

⁸ I have not seen vol. 3 of his collection, which was printing in 1939 (cf. Preisendanz, *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri*, in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 15, 1939, pp. 151 f.).

⁹ *Greek Literary Papyri*, vol. 1, no. 146.

¹⁰ He had discovered among the unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyri one containing a different version of col. II, ll. 8-12; see *infra*, p. 37.

¹¹ Now in the Library of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

¹² Grenfell and Hunt saw more letters on col. I of the *recto* than are visible on the plate. Therefore the edition of this column (*infra*, p. 36) is based mainly on their state-

- (4) Wilamowitz's statements about the Berlin fragment.¹³
 (5) Perhaps a statement by Preisendanz about the Berlin fragment.¹⁴

3. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPYRUS.

Fragment of a roll, 10 × 8.2 cm., consisting of two contiguous pieces. One of these, 6 × 4.2 cm., was bought between 1897 and 1900 by Grenfell and Hunt for Lord Amherst (*P. Amh.* 11, since 1913 in the J. P. Morgan Library, New York); the other, 10 × 4 cm., was bought, probably at the same time, by the Berlin Museums (*P* 7504).¹⁵

recto: collection of charms (see *infra*, sections 4–8) written in a literary hand of cent. I B.C. This date is assigned to the Amherst fragment by Grenfell and Hunt, and Mr. Lobel tells me that he thinks a later date impossible but would not exclude cent. II B.C.

On the top of col. II there is a heading πρὸς κεφαλῇ[ς | πόνον] written 'in mehr kursiver Schrift,' according to Wilamowitz. It refers to ll. 13 ff. There the beginning of the title is marked by (1) paragraphos under the preceding line; (2) ἐκθεσις;¹⁶ (3) an oblique stroke before the first letter (the φ of φιλιννης);¹⁷ (4) the capitals ΚΕΦΑ written in the left margin. The beginning of the charm (l. 15) is marked by paragraphos and ἐκθεσις only. In ll. 4–6, where the left part of the column is lost, the beginnings of title and charm were presumably arranged in the same way.

*verso*¹⁸: fragments of two columns written in a cursive hand of about cent. I A.D. Of the first column only some line ends are preserved, of the second the beginnings and ends of 9 and probably the beginnings of some more lines. On the photograph of the Amherst fragment the last two line ends can be deciphered: 8]απο λιμου, 9]εις; about the text of the Berlin fragment nothing is known.

4. TRANSCRIPT OF THE RECTO.

See the drawing below, made by Mr. W. T. Wright of the Clarendon Press, Oxford. It is in the main a copy from Plate II of the *Amherst Papyri*, vol. 2, supplemented from the text of the Berlin Papyrus as I suppose it to run; this text is written by the draughtsman in letters of about the same size as those of the Amherst Papyrus. The contour of the Berlin fragment is

ments. But in l. 12]ωισατε (with]ουσατε in the next line) is no probable group of letters; I prefer]εισατε. In col. II, 14 f. (= ll. 8 f. of their numbering) they read τ[instead of π[and φενροδου[instead of φενροδου[; the first of these mistakes was corrected by Abt, the second has been fatal for the understanding of the whole until now.

¹³ Some of these statements I have had to reject:

(a) The date cannot be 'spätgriechisch,' i.e., A.D. V–VI, because the Amherst fragment is I B.C.

(b) The papyrus cannot be a 'Buch,' i.e., a codex: Wilamowitz's own statement about the *verso* (see *infra*, note 18) proves that the columns do not correspond. Besides, the hand of the *verso* is different, as the Amherst fragment shows.

(c) The course of the left border of ll. 13–15 as given in the edition cannot be right; it must have been determined by the supplements, the style of which, by the way, is poor, and which ignore the blank after l. 14]ωω.

(d) Some letters must have been misread; see *infra*, p. 35, notes to ll. 2, 4, 8, 13.

Such an accumulation of misstatements (and those in his quotation from the Amherst fragment must be added) is rare in Wilamowitz. The enormous amount of work done by him simultaneously with the preparation of that volume of the *Berl. Klass. Texte*—witness the *Wilamowitz-Bibliographie*, 1928—would suffice to explain a temporary slackening of attention, but I think his aversion from magic was an accessory cause.

¹⁴ In l. 10 (= l. 12 of his numbering) Preisendanz gives ηγαγαν as the reading of the papyrus, instead of Wilamowitz's ἡράσαν[το]. Had Preisendanz revised Wilamowitz's collation of the papyrus without perceiving the identity of the hands and without correcting more than those two letters? Or is his ηγαγαν only a contamination of Abt's conjecture ηγαγον (which stands in Preisendanz's text without being marked as a conjecture) with Wilamowitz's reading?

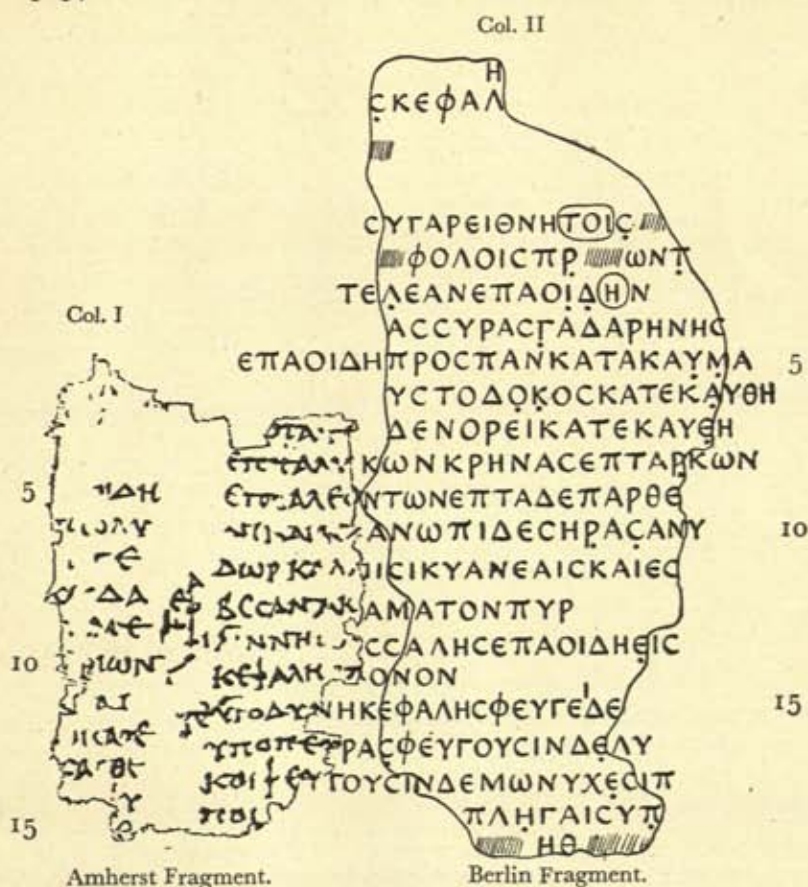
¹⁵ The letter P characterises a Berlin papyrus as bought, not obtained by excavation (prefatory notice of the editors).

¹⁶ By ἐκθεσις I mean projection to the left by about two letters as opposed to indentation; there seems to exist no generally received English technical term. ἐκθεσις and εἰσθεσις in this sense are technical terms in metrical scholia. For ἐκθεσις marking the beginning of a paragraph in papyri and inscriptions cf. W. Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* (1911), Taf. 9b (127 B.C.), the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, Maas, *Epidaur. Hymn.* (1933), p. 158¹.

¹⁷ As on the *verso*, see *infra* presently. Similar strokes appear in an Anthology of II B.C., *Berl. Klass. Texte*, 5, 2, p. 129.

¹⁸ 'Auf dem Verso sind nur geringe Reste von Zeilenschlüssen und Zeilenanfängen sichtbar, vor denen Paragraphos und schräge Striche stehen' Wil. 'On the *verso* are the ends of nine lines in a cursive hand apparently of the early first century A.D.' G.-H.; this is confirmed by the photograph. Obviously the lines the ends of which appear on the Amherst fragment are those which begin on the Berlin fragment.

inferred only from this text and its relation to the Amherst fragment. The letters outside the border-lines are supplied conjecturally. Dots under the letters mark the reading as doubtful; they are not in the papyrus.



Notes on Some Doubtful Readings.—Col. I: see *supra*, note 12.—Col. II: for the two unnumbered lines on the top see *supra*, p. 34.—l. 2, letter before Φ: 'Rest wie von A, Λ' Wil. But only Ε seems to make sense, see section 7.—l. 4, ΓΑΔ: ΤΑΔ Wil. It is more probable that Wil. misread the mutilated line than that the copyist failed to recognise Gadara; G.—H. similarly misread Γ as Τ (see *supra*, note 12). Therefore I think that ΓΑΔ is in the papyrus.—l. 5, ΥΜ: ΤΑ Wil., who adds 'die beiden Buchstaben können auch ΥΛ (oder Δ) sein.' Then ΥΜ is equally possible, and this alone makes sense.—l. 6, ΟΚ: thus Wil. without indicating any alternative.—l. 7:]πατα[G.—H. Between ΑΤ and ΔΕΝ there were perhaps two letters.—l. 8 Ρ: 'Buchstabe rund, C, ω, Θ' Wil.; but no such letter makes sense.—l. 10, ΗΡΑCΑΝ: thus Wil.: ηγαγαν Preisendanz (cf. *supra*, note 14).—l. 13: Ε: C Wil.—l. 15: 'I in ΦΕΥΓΕΙ nachgetragen' Wil.—l. 16, letter before Φ: 'C oder N' Wil.—l. 18, etter after ΠΟΙ: ξ G.—H.

5. GENERAL CHARACTER OF TEXT.

The text is a collection of hexametrical charms, each of which has a title indicating: (1) the name of the author, (2) his or her nationality, (3) the disease for which the charm is intended. No earlier collection of Greek charms and no similar collection are known.

and the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society have granted me permission to publish it. I am greatly obliged to Mr. Lobel and the Committee. Here is the text ('Ox.')

	πρ(ος) [ερυ]σιπτελα λ[ογος	
	ε]πτα λυκων ε[παρ-
	θενων αγριον [
	μεγαλων οστων [
5	ω Γη συ δε ταυτα παντ[
	πρ(ος) ερυθραν λογος επτα [
	επτα λεοντων επτα [
	κο'μισαν αιθεριον πυρ[
	λεγε vac. [
10 επικαλουμα[ι	
	. ω του Αβρααμ vac. [ΕΠΙΚΑ-
	λ]ουμαι δε και το ον[ομα	

7 more mutilated lines.

ll. 4-5: κατάκαυμα can mean both fire and inflammation in the medical sense. Ox. specialises by naming έρυσίτελας or έρυθρά (which must mean a similar burning disease of the skin, perhaps shingles). Certainly the charm would be more efficacious for a nervous disease of the skin than for an ordinary fire.

ll. 6-7: mutilation apparently complicated by corruption does not allow an attempt at restoration (for έν όρει see note on ll. 9-12). A consequence of the corruption seems to be that κρήνας in l. 8 has no verb to govern it. Moreover I see no plausible connexion of wells with wild beasts.

ll. 8-9: cf. Apsyrus in *Hippiatr.* vol. 2, p. 31 (= Heim no. 65), τρις έπτά θαλάσσια ζώα, έπτά άρκοι, έπτά λέοντες, έπτά δελφίνοι έδίδωκον την άγρίαν μάλιν (a disease of horses). Preisendanz refers for this line to R. Wunsch, *Zur Geisterbannung im Altertum* (*Festschr. zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität Breslau*, 1911), p. 13. 1; this publication, which Weinreich, *Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 5 (1929), p. 175, calls *grundlegend*, is inaccessible to me.

ll. 9-12: if ηρασαν is in the pap. (cf. *supra*, note 14), the copyist may have derived it from έρώ 'pour out,' though there is no parallel for the α. But Abt's conjecture is good.—έκοίμισαν (Ox.) is more poetical than έσβεσαν (pap.). The alliteration κάλπισι κυανέαις και έκοίμισαν άκάματον πύρ seems deliberate: cf. Heim no. 53 (for colic),²¹ θεός κελεύει μή κύειν πόνους κόλον, where θεός may be a substitute for a name of a daemon beginning with K.—αίθήριον (Ox.) for άκάματον (pap.) would then be a secondary version intended for a fire caused by lightning.

The tale of the seven maidens quenching a fire with their pitchers is the earliest instance in Greek or Latin charms of what folklorists call a *historiola*,²² a short mention of an analogous mythical story. The nearest parallels I have found are the following: (1) Groups of three anonymous virgins or sisters occur in charms transmitted by Marc. Emp. 28. 74 and 21. 3 (= Heim nos. 107, 100) and in Ps.-Pliny ed. Heim *l.c.*, p. 559, 18, but not otherwise connected with that of the Seven Maidens.—(2) As a charm for inflammation Hierocles in *Hippiatr.* vol. 2, p. 40, 22 (= Heim no. 106), tells this *historiola*: Κίρκη και Μήδεια²³ έκαθέζοντο προς άνατολάς ήλιου, έζήτουν τώ άφλέγμαντον είτε από λίθου είτε από ξύλου είτε από κυνοδήκτου.—(3) Because

²¹ Transmitted by Marc. Emp. 29. 23 and two inscriptions on Roman rings, cf. W. Drexler, *Philologus* 58 (1899), 608.

²² Cf. Heim, p. 495, H. de Boer in *Reallexikon der Deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 3 (1928-29) s.v. *Zauberspruch*, F. Ohrt in *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 7

(1935-36), s.v. *Segen* and his other articles there quoted, to which must be added his monograph *Die ältesten Segen über Christi Taufe und Christi Tod*, K. Danske Vid. Sel., hist.-filol. Medd. 25 (1938).

²³ Cf. Theocr. 2. 15 f., where Perimede (= Agamede in Hom. *Il.* 11. 741) makes the group of three complete.

of ἐν ὄρει in l. 7 of the Philinna Papyrus I quote the beginning of the *Charm of the Stupid Man*, Marc. Emp. 10, 35 (Heim no. 110): *Stupidus in monte ibat, stupidus stupuit*.²⁴

If these parallels really are the nearest ones preserved, then there is little hope of finding out who those seven maidens were.²⁵

ll. 15-18: to the copyist's corrected reading φευγει δε in l. 15 I see no better supplement than λέων or τε λις. His first reading, φευγε δε, though metrically impossible, has two advantages: (1) the anaphora φευγε—φευγε: φεύγουσιν δε—φεύγουσι δε is more symmetrical than φευγε: φεύγει δε—φεύγουσιν δε—φεύγουσι δε: (2) the ἀποπομπή of the disease into rocks, i.e., into barren land, is just what one would expect.²⁶ I have considered φευγ' ἰδα[ας] ὑπὸ πέτραις, but the first reading of the copyist can hardly originate from this version.

The φευγε type is one of the earliest and most frequent in charms for diseases; cf. Heim no. 56-68, Aristotle, *Fr.* 496 Rose (1886), on Φευγ' ἐς κόρακας, and the lead tablet from Phalasarna (Western Crete),²⁷ cent. IV B.C., ll. 3 f., φευγ' ἄμα φευγε λύκαινα, φευγε κύων αμασκαίπροκροπος ἃ τε σύνοικος μαινόμενοι δ<ρ>άντων πρὸς δώματα αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος.

8. DATE OF THE CHARMS.

Are Thessalian Philinna and the Syrian woman of Gadara whose name is mutilated real or fictitious persons? Philinna, according to Strepsiades, is one of the most typical female names (Ar. *Nub.* 684); Thessalian or Syrian origin is just what a forger would be likely to invent for the author of a charm (Ar. *Nub.* 749, Theocr., 2. 162, etc.). Thus there is no reliance on these data. The style of what is left of the first and the third charm does not point to times earlier than Hellenistic. But the two soft-flowing hexameters about the seven maidens have a true Hellenic ring; ἐπωδαί of this kind may have been those which appealed to Aeschylus, Pindar and Plato.

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²⁴ Cf. Cod. Bernensis A 62 (A.D. X) ap. Heim no. 111, *Stulta femina super fontem sedebat* (where the last line seems to have been originally a *versus leoninus*: *siccant vel venae quae sunt de sanguine plenae*) and the end of the Old German 'Strassburger Blut-Segen' (A.D. XI) *Tumbo sat in berke* (W. Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, 1928, pp. 89, 202; F. Ohrt in *Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens* s.v. *Tumbo*, vol. 8, 1936-37).

²⁵ I know of no seven maidens quenching a fire in Greek mythology. Neither Pleiades nor Hyades carry water. The pyre of Alcmene is extinguished by two Clouds (C.

Robert, *Archaeolog. Hermeneutik*, 1919, pp. 49, 277), that of Heracles by two or three well-nymphs. For the evidence cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, vol. 3 (1940), pp. 506-24.

²⁶ Cf. Heim, nos. 69-74, Weinreich (see *supra*, p. 37), pp. 170-99. The writings by Wünsch and by Fehrle (*Zauber und Segen*, 1926) quoted by Weinreich, pp. 175, 178, are inaccessible to me.

²⁷ Ed. f.i. by Wünsch, *Rhein. Mus.* 55 (1900), pp. 73 ff.; cf. *Inscr. Cret.* 2 (1939), p. 223. I shall treat this tablet in one of the next numbers of *Hesperia*; in its last line I read οὐ με κατοχρίστωι δηλήσεται οὐτ' ἐπενίκτωι οὐτε ποτῶι.

THE HARPY TOMB AT XANTHUS

[PLATES I-IV.]

I. THE EAST SIDE

ONE hundred years ago, in 1842, the Lycian Marbles were exhibited for the first time in the British Museum. Sir Charles Fellows had discovered them at Xanthus, the capital of Lycia, and succeeded in procuring them for the Trustees of the British Museum. Since that time, the Lycian Marbles have formed one of the main parts of the collection of Greek sculpture in London. But their London home seems to have had the strange effect of making them more and more reticent: these Lycian sculptures have indeed been extremely successful in withstanding all attempts at explaining them or even understanding them. In spite of the immense sensation caused at the time of their arrival in England and all through the nineteenth century, there is nobody who can even nowadays assign to any of them an accurate date or supply an adequate commentary.

The Harpy Tomb provides us with an excellent example for these (I admit) rather sweeping statements. Its place was in the middle of the Archaic Room of the British Museum. Everybody walked round it, looked at it, tried to explain it, and gave it up. Much has been written about it during these last hundred years, but the only solutions offered were of a vague mythological or symbolic character.¹ However, I believe the time has come to attempt an explanation from a different angle altogether. It seems hopeless to continue on the well-trodden track, and to consider it simply as a piece of architecture or a piece of sculpture, in which we try to puzzle out the religious views expressed in the reliefs. In the interpretation offered in this paper, it is regarded primarily as the tomb or heroön of a certain family and as a monument of a certain historical character.²

We know deplorably little of Lycian history. And, although I have come to definite conclusions beyond those that are expressed in this first part of my publication, I still feel that there are a good many riddles to be solved. But with the aid of some new photographs and in the light of a few hitherto unknown details, this paper may perhaps show that we are getting nearer to the solution, or at least that we are on the right track.³

To describe this monument, I shall quote the terms used by Sir Charles Fellows (*Xanthian Marbles*, p. 21): 'The Harpy Tomb consisted of a square shaft in one block, weighing about eighty tons, its height seventeen feet, placed upon a base rising on one side 6 feet from the ground, on the other but a little above the present level of the earth. Around the sides of the top of the shaft were ranged the bas-reliefs in white marble about 3 ft. 3 in. high; upon these rested a capstone, apparently a series of stones, one projecting over the other; but these are cut in one block, probably 15-20 tons in weight. Within the top of the shaft was hollowed out a chamber which, with the bas-relief sides, was 7 ft. 6 in. high and 7 ft. square. This singular chamber . . . was a burial chamber, and there was an entrance to it on the west side of the top of the shaft.'

The situation of the Harpy Tomb is an interesting one. It stands on a slope forming the

¹ A good bibliography is contained in F. N. Pryce's *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, vol. i, part I (1928). To this may be added the early accounts given by Sir Charles Fellows in his *Journal . . . in Asia Minor* (1838-39), *Account of Discoveries in Lycia* (1840-41), *Xanthian Marbles* (1843), *Lycia* (1847), and *Travels* (1852); also the more recent references in G. Rodenwaldt, *Griechische Reliefs in Lykien* (Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie, 1933), and in C. Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque* (1939).

² A similar view in regard to the Lycian pillar-tombs of

the sixth century has recently been expressed by a Turkish archaeologist, Ekrem Akurgal, whose book *Griech. Reliefs d. VI. Jhdts aus Lykien* (1942) came into my hands while I was reading the proofs of this paper.

³ Here my thanks go to the Trustees of the British Museum for the extraordinary facilities which they gave me when photographing the reliefs, several years ago, when the present Director, Sir John Forsdyke, was Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. To him I also wish to express my deep gratitude for the interest he has taken in this paper.

edge of a level stretch of ground, and overlooking the deep-cut valley of the Xanthus river. Only about 50 paces to the north-east,⁴ there is another pillar tomb, similar in shape and size to the Harpy Tomb; its relief slabs surrounding the burial chamber have been lost, but the sides of the square shaft bear a long inscription, for the most part in Lycian script and language. In the middle of this Lycian inscription, however, are twelve lines in Greek, from which we clearly understand that its situation was on the Agora of Xanthus.⁵

This inscription is of some importance, and its connexion with the Harpy Tomb has not escaped unnoticed. As a matter of fact, the level stretch of ground, on the edge of which the Harpy Tomb stands, has always quite rightly been considered as the ancient Agora of Xanthus.⁶ The map given by Sir Charles Fellows is too inaccurate to be reproduced. The map in Fig. 1 was made in 1892 by the architect who accompanied Benndorf, when he followed up Fellows'



FIG. 1.—MAP OF XANTHUS BY E. KRICKL.

research. And in the description of his journey to Lycia, Benndorf plainly calls the level piece of ground on which the two pillar tombs stand, the Agora.⁷ Why then is this fact never mentioned in more recent publications? For surely it is quite important to know whether a

⁴ Fellows always speaks of 'close by' (*Journal*, 174) and 'very near' (*Travels*, 338), but he gives no accurate distance. Benndorf who has measured the distance, gives it in *Reisen* 1, 85 as '50 Schritte'.

⁵ *T.A.M.* i. 44, 6, 21: '... ἀνέθηκεν
δωδεκά θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῷ τιμένῃ
νικίων καὶ πολέμου μνημα τόδε ἀθάνατον.'

⁶ Fellows calls it the burial-place of the kings and says, 'And from finding the district to have been the burial place of the kings, it (sc. the Harpy Tomb) becomes the more interesting' (*Travels*, p. 340). Benndorf in his *Reisen*, vol. i, gives a view from the acropolis on plate 23 and describes this on p. 86 as follows: 'Man erkennt hier in der linken unteren Ecke des Bildes die Harpagiden-stele (i.e. Xanthian Stele) und übersieht rechts davon (i.e. to the south-west) die jetzt durch einige Saatfelder

bezeichnete Agora, auf der sich einst das Sarpedoneion befand.' For Kalinka, *T.A.M.*, see *infra*, note 10.

⁷ The first map was made for Sir Charles Fellows by A. Hoskyn, Master of H.M.S. *Beacon* in 1840, and published in Spratt, *Travels* (1847), vol. ii, plate 2. Benndorf, *Reisen*, i, 85, rightly describes it as 'nur dürftige Orientierung.' Another map was given by Fellows in *Xanthian Marbles*, plate 2, but this is, again according to Benndorf, 'eine Skizze nach verfehlten Schätzungen, daher mit Recht nicht wiederholt in den *Travels and Researches*.' The map in our Fig. 1 is from Benndorf's article in *Oe. Jh.* 3 (1900), p. 100, fig. 23, and was made by E. Krickl (Hauptmann im Genieregiment) in 1892. For Benndorf's description see above note 6. As for the Harpy Tomb, the monument still stands at its place, only the marble slabs with the reliefs have been removed to England. The sarcophagus between Harpy Tomb and theatre is of much later date.

monument stood in the civic and religious centre of a town, or not. The omission can only be explained by a confusion due to a second publication of the map. As it is the only accurate map of the remains of Xanthus that has ever been made, it was used and reprinted in a book on inscriptions of the Roman period in Lycia.⁸ But in order to conform with the period of these inscriptions, a slight modification of figures had to be made, and the term 'agora' was applied to a rectangular building further to the east of the old emplacement, where some inscriptions seem to indicate the civic centre of the Roman period.⁹ Students knowing only the second map would doubtless think that there was no connection between the Harpy Tomb and the agora. But this would be a mistake. It is merely the Roman civic centre which has no direct connexion with our monument, and even Kalinka who published the second map never tried to infer that this was also the place of the old agora of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.¹⁰

The other pillar tomb with the long inscription, the Xanthian Stele, as it is generally called, dates from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century,¹¹ and there is sufficient evidence to show that it has never been moved from its original place. Its Greek inscription clearly states that it was erected on the agora. The position of the more important part of the Lycian inscription in which the ruler who erected it introduces himself and gives his titles and his genealogy, is on the south side.¹² This fact, as well as the nature of the soil around the stele, show that the agora extended from the stele to the south and south-west. Indeed, neither to the north, nor to the east or west are any Lycian monuments or inscriptions to be found, while to the south and south-west the soil is strewn with the remains of buildings and monuments of ancient date and Lycian character. Due south, across the level stretch of ground and not far from the Harpy Tomb, some inscriptions have been found which seem to indicate that the Sarpedoneion stood there. From the account of the Brutus expedition we know that this Sarpedoneion stood on the Agora of Xanthus, near the gates to the city.¹³ Between this spot and the Harpy Tomb extends the theatre. It is built into the slope bordering on this small plain and overlooking it.

The situation vividly recalls the way in which every ancient Greek agora was built, both

⁸ E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (here generally quoted as *T.A.M.*), vol. i (1901), dealing with the early inscriptions in Lycian, vol. ii (1920), only with the late Greek and Roman inscriptions. The map is in vol. ii, fasc. 1, p. 95. It is marked 'Forma Xanthi urbis'. E. Krickl anno 1892 adumbravit, thus admittedly a copy of the map published 20 years before by Benndorf in *Oe. Jh.*, which is marked 'Planskizze von Xanthus, aufgenommen von E. Krickl 1892.' Though it is clearly the same map, yet it is less carefully drawn. While in Benndorf's article it is quite obviously made by an architect, with explanation of figures in block letters, the drawing on Kalinka's map is not as accurate, the explanation of figures is in handwriting, and some of the figures (like S₁, S₂, S₃, S₄ in *Oe. Jh.* corresponding to (S)₁, (S)₂, S₃, S₄ in *T.A.M.*) have a slightly different explanation, and are sometimes not indicated in the right spot on Kalinka's map. One is led to the conclusion that this second map is not altogether reliable.

⁹ The term 'Agora' does not occur on Benndorf's map. It is only to be found on Kalinka's map where it applies to the remains of a square building surrounded by a stoa on the east and south. After examining both maps closely (see note 8), this proves to be a 'late interpolation,' inspired by the wish to adjust this map to the inscriptions of the Roman period, and by the interpolator's idea of an agora as surrounded by a stoa on each side of a rectangle. Yet Kalinka's map is fairly well known and because it is in a book dealing with the most important inscriptions from Lycia, it is frequently quoted by scholars, while Benndorf's article is almost forgotten and its map hardly known.

¹⁰ He says so quite plainly in his commentary, and again refers to the older agora round the spot where the Xanthian Stele and the Harpy Tomb are standing: *T.A.M.* ii. 1, 96 'infra arcem ad meridiem situm est forum saxis stratum, ubi praeter cetera aedificia exstructae sunt duae illae

columnae quarum una monumentum Harpyiarum nominatur, altera insignis est longitudine tituli Lycia lingua inscripti et epigrammate Graeco.'

¹¹ Benndorf, 'Zur Stele Xanthia,' in *Oe. Jh.* 1900, iii., 98 ff.; F. W. König, 'Die Stele von Xanthos,' *Klotho*, 1936; P. Meriggi, 'Zur Xanthosstele,' in *Acta Jullandica* (Aarskrift for Aarhus Universitet) 1937, ix. 504 ff.

¹² This, in Lycia, usually marks the beginning of an inscription and shows the way it was set up. It always faces the direction from which worshippers or visitors are expected to come.

¹³ C.I.G. iii. 4269 b, commenting on the Xanthian Stele, says: 'Praeter hanc stelam Xanthi in foro etiam Σαρπηδόνηιον collocatum fuisse novimus ex Appiano bell. civ. iv. 78.' But Kalinka in *T.A.M.* ii. 96 'Tota hac regione (sc. prope theatrum) multae parietinae inveniuntur, inter quas illud quoque Σαρπηδόνηιον fuisse puto cuius Appianus b. civ. iv. 78 mentionem facit. Confer M. 313 sq. ubi Sarpedo Glaucum appellat:

καὶ τέμενος νεόμενον, μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας
καλὸν φυταλίης καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο.

An inscription (*T.A.M.* ii. 265) has been found to the south-east of the theatre, erected by Aichmon after a victory, and its last line runs: Σαρπηδόνη καὶ Γλαύκωι ἥρωσι. As this inscription obviously presupposes a heroön of Sarpedon and Glaucus, the C.I.G. iii. 4269 b add. comments: 'Titulus fortasse positus fuit in Sarpedonio.' And Benndorf (*Historische Inschrift vom Stadttore zu Xanthus, Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld*, 1903, 29) concludes: 'Das Sarpedoneion lag wahrscheinlich auf dem Hügel über dem Theater, innerhalb der Ringmauer.' The Sarpedoneion was also mentioned in Aristot. *pepl.* 53; Athen. i. 13 sq; and Plin. *N.H.* 13, 88.

on the Greek mainland and in Asia Minor.¹⁴ It also recalls how the ancient Greek agora gradually developed, and how in course of time it enlarged its extent, more and more buildings being added to it, until finally it was split up into separate groups of squares and buildings, roughly speaking, the civic centre and the market-place. There was no room for an extension of the Xanthian agora to the west, because of the deep river-bed. To the north and south, steep slopes formed a natural boundary. Buildings in later times were added to the east, thus extending the agora to the place where, in Roman times, votive inscriptions were placed which denote a sort of Forum, whereas the old emplacement, with the theatre next to it and the ancient temenos and heroön on it, preserved the more religious character of the old agora.

The Harpy Tomb stands right on this spot, between the Xanthian Stele and the theatre. As the Stele was definitely on the agora, the Harpy Tomb, being the older of the two, was still more connected with the agora. The short distance between the two monuments, and the fact that the agora could only have extended from the Stele southward, *i.e.* towards the Harpy Tomb and the theatre, make it almost impossible to assume that the agora of a large city like Xanthus did not include the spot where the Harpy Tomb stands. The nature of the



FIG. 2.—THE HARPY TOMB: EAST SIDE.

soil and the remains make it plain that the Stele stood on the north border of the agora, connected with the temenos of the Twelve Gods, and so the position of the Harpy Tomb was on the west border but, like the Stele, on the Agora itself. In fact, it was one of its significant features, and it will be shown that it is even mentioned in the long Lycian inscription of the Stele as among the three important heroa (*aravaziya*) on the agora.

There are several not uninteresting conclusions which can be drawn from this fact. But before investigating this matter, it may be useful to consider how the position of the monument is reflected by the subjects of the reliefs surrounding its top. Of the four sides of the Harpy Tomb, the two sides looking north and south are shorter and consist of single scenes with the so-called Harpies on either side, forming a frame to the central scene. The other two sides are the more important ones; they are longer and far more impressive. The west side, overlooking the river, bears the figures of five elaborately dressed women. The east side, facing the agora, shows the stately figure of a bearded man enthroned and surrounded by four younger male figures. I feel inclined to consider the east side as the most important both because of its position and its character, and will begin with it (Fig. 2).

It seems to consist of two very different groups of figures. To the left, the three figures, one enthroned and two standing, are all in very rigid and formal attitudes, well wrapped up in long dresses, and looking towards the right. Even their gestures resemble one another,

¹⁴ For collected evidence and general literature on this subject see *Oe. Jh.* 1931, xxvii. 82 ff.

the movement of their right arms, forming a circle with head and shoulder, has a crescendo effect, that is, grows larger towards the centre, and a similar crescendo movement applies to the attitude of their left arms and hands. The positions of their feet also show variations of the same sort, starting off with a movement which gradually comes to a standstill in the centre. In contrast to this, the right-hand group of the east side is much freer in its movements and its contours; there are only two figures; their attitude and drapery-folds show a tendency to straight lines and open, straight movements. Their gestures show no variations or gradual increase in movement. Their arms are outstretched and pointing towards the centre. On the central slab this contrast reaches its climax. The slender young boy, throwing back his head and lifting his eyes, stretches out his arms and brings a cock and a fruit as offerings to the bearded old man in front of him. But the latter, seated on his elaborate throne as if he formed together with it one solid block of statuary, seems to take no notice at all. Fully self-satisfied he rests his massive form on the throne, like the archaic image of a god.

The usual interpretation of the figures represented was, up to the end of the nineteenth century, that of a god, frequently called Poseidon because of the figure of a Triton on the throne, his attendants behind him and two worshippers in front of him. The cock does not quite agree with Poseidon, the god of the sea, and quite a number of other anomalies have been noticed; but one usually left it at that, or suggested some unknown Lycian deity. Since the end of the nineteenth century, however, there has been found ample proof of the fact that, in the classical world, no god was ever represented on a tomb, for a tomb was considered as the resting-place and abode of the spirit of the deceased person. And the Harpy Tomb being a sepulchral monument with a burial chamber, cannot possibly have been ornamented with the figures of gods. So the current opinion now is that this central figure on the east side is meant to be one of the persons buried in the Harpy Tomb.

Before going on to a further investigation of the identity of the figures represented, it is well worth while pointing out one or two of the striking features of this side. What must be considered as rather strange and puzzling in a work of Greek art, is the composition of the central group (Pl. III), which seems to lack the usual principle of symmetry and the Greek sense of equilibrium. A huge figure enthroned with a much smaller worshipper in front of him does occur in Greek art (cf. the reliefs from Chrysapha near Sparta), but on the Harpy Tomb the absolutely empty space above is something quite out of the way on a monument which so clearly bears all the traces of early Greek art and of archaic Greek workmanship. And yet the sculptor who designed this group of figures must have had a strong feeling for symmetry, even distribution, and proportion of figures. The central lines on this side, the axes of symmetry, are a predominant feature of the central group, marking the outlines of the throne, the shoulders of the small figure, and the straight verticals of the legs of the bearded man. The sceptre runs in an accurate diagonal right through the crossing point of these two axes, and this centre is even stressed by the hollow of the enthroned man's massive left hand. But the centre of gravity is quite definitely placed in the left half of the central slab which is completely filled by the figure of the enthroned man. Thus the free space in front of him forms no equilibrium whatever in the Greek sense, but rather tends to stress his importance.

The two draped figures behind this enthroned man on the left angle-slab (Pl. II) have been variously described as male and female. More recently one tends to believe in their male nature, though at the same time their feminine character never passes unmentioned. And it is true, the pose of their hands, the attributes, and the arrangement of the drapery definitely compare with those of the women on the west side of the same monument. As F. N. Pryce in his 1928 edition of the British Museum Catalogue states that their sex is disputable, the following facts may seem worth mentioning. The women on this monument all wear bracelets, fairly large carved diadems, their hair falls over their shoulders, their dress reaches the ground and even trails behind them, and their breasts are outlined quite clearly and are unmistakably feminine. These two figures on the east side are altogether different; like all the men on

this monument they wear no bracelets, instead of carved diadems they had metal circlets round their hair (the rivet holes are still there), their hair does not extend beyond their necks, their dress ends at ankle level, and their breast contours are what are called indefinite. The explanation of the feminine pose of their hands and of the arrangement of the drapery is, I

think, quite simple. We have among the Lycian marbles another fairly large fragment of a contemporary frieze from Xanthus (*Catalogue*, B 314, pl. xxxi.), where a procession is depicted, quite definitely men (and Pryce says so), but with women's clothes and with the feminine attitude of holding up the drapery with one hand. And there are quite a number of reliable witnesses (among them Plutarch) who relate that among the Lycians men had to wear women's clothes on certain religious occasions.¹⁵

In this light a few details which struck me when closely examining the monument itself, assume an additional importance. First of all, the attendant standing behind the throne is slightly smaller than the other; he wears sandals whereas the other attendant is barefoot; he is more slender and has no beard whereas the second figure is distinctly corpulent and appears to have a short pointed beard. But what is even more striking, the remains of a tassel are to be seen at the back of the head of the first attendant. Actually, the contours of their heads are entirely different (Pl. IV *a, b*). The left one is undulating and the rivet hole for the metal circlet lies within this contour, because the hair was compressed by this sort of wreath. The contour of the first attendant's head forms a straight vertical line at the back, the rivet hole is situated on the outside, and there are the distinct traces of a long tassel. They are clearly distinguishable in the photograph, starting near the top of the head and going down almost to the height of the neck. So this figure appears to have worn a cap with a long pendent tassel.

This point leads to a long series of parallels and will ultimately aid in the interpretation

of this east side. There are two parallels from Xanthus, both among the Lycian marbles in the British Museum, and both almost contemporaneous with the Harpy Tomb. First the fragment of a frieze with two male figures (Fig. 3), which F. N. Pryce (*Cat.*, B 310) again



FIG. 3.—MALE ATTENDANTS ON A FRIEZE FROM XANTHUS.

¹⁵ Plut. *consol. ad Apoll.*, 21; Val. Max., ii, 6, 13. Both writers state that, among the Lycians, the male members of a family in mourning had to wear women's clothes. As a reason they give the belief in Lycia that mourning was something unworthy of a man, and so he had to put on a woman's dress to make it less conspicuous. But this is clearly a belated and rationalistic attempt at an explanation of this ancient custom (cf. Hauser in *Philologus* 54 (N.F.8) 389 ff.). It is proved that, in earlier times, only the female members represented the family in Lycia. The tradition that men had to put on female garments

on certain religious occasions where the family as a whole was involved is in itself only one of the many survivals of such ancient customs in Lycia.

Furthermore, the wearing of long dresses by priests and singers or musicians on religious occasions in early archaic Greece as well as in Minoan Crete points to an interesting parallel. And in Persia, Assyria, and Babylonia the king's attendants wore a similar dress for certain other reasons. It will be proved that, as far as the east side of the Harpy Tomb is concerned, the Persian tradition had some importance and coincided with Lycian customs.

describes as male and female, though neither of them has feminine breast contours. The date of the frieze is approximately twenty to thirty years after the Harpy Tomb. The figures are apparently two attendants standing at the end of a couch. The first one is somewhat smaller, more slender, with sandals, in women's clothes, and wears a round cap with a long pendent tassel. This is an almost perfect analogy to our two figures on the Harpy Tomb. Another fragment of a different frieze, slightly older than the previous one but definitely later than the Harpy Tomb (B 309, *Cat. Fig. 186*) show one figure and the back edge of the cloak of a second figure. Attitude and attire are almost the same as on the previous fragment. The figure is male, but wears a woman's dress, and his attitude is that of an attendant.

But there are more parallels than these two. There is the Satrap Sarcophagus with its reliefs showing the prince who was buried in it, at a banquet or in the midst of his every-day occupations, but always attended by two male servants in longish clothes, holding the implements of their office (Fig. 4). This sarcophagus, found at Sidon and, like the Lycian Sarcophagus found next to it, probably of Lycian workmanship, is almost 100 years later than the Harpy Tomb, and its style is more developed, but the idea seems the same. For the intervening period, three Lycian tombs may serve as examples. On them a ruler is depicted with attendants standing behind him or at his side, performing their habitual duties, holding a sunshade or a napkin, or a jug with wine or water. On two of these three monuments, the Payava Tomb and the Nereid Monument, both among the Lycian marbles in the British

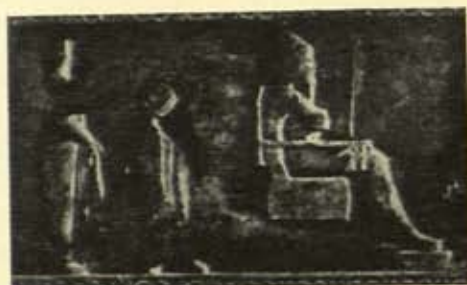


FIG. 4.—SATRAP AND ATTENDANTS FROM THE 'SATRAP' SARCOPHAGUS.



FIG. 5.—PERSIAN AUDIENCE RELIEF IN THE PALACE OF PERSEPOLIS.

Museum, the ruler is a Persian prince or satrap. On the third monument, the Heroön from Gyeulbashi, he is a legendary hero.¹⁶

The fact that, on several occasions, it is definitely a Persian prince who is shown with his attendants, but surrounded by Lycians, gives rise to a sudden suspicion. Could it not be that the rulers and the customs have both come to Lycia from Persia? Lycia had formed

¹⁶ For the Satrap sarcophagus: Mendel, *Cat. Mus. Ottom.* i. 33 ff. (where Mendel has proved that all these attendants were male); for the Payava Tomb: Smith, *B.M. Cat.* ii. 47, pl. 11 (the prince represented here is the satrap Autophradates, 375-362 B.C.); for the Nereid Monument: *B.M. Cat.* ii (fourth frieze), the prince seems to

be a Persian satrap but cannot be identified); for the Heroön from Gyeulbashi: Benndorf's monograph (the scene has been thought to depict the Iliouperis with Priam and Hecuba enthroned above the besieged city; it is more probable, however, that it refers to some event in Lycian history or legend).

part of the Persian empire since the middle of the sixth century.¹⁷ Turning therefore to Persia, one soon finds that in Persian art one not only meets a few more parallels but, as it seems, the prototype of these scenes. The so-called audience-reliefs in the Palace of Persepolis,¹⁸ of which quite a number have so far been found, show the Persian King in the midst of a grand function of state, with the royal guards, probably during the ceremony of the New Year festival (Fig. 5). It is known from literary sources that on this occasion the Persian King used to receive all his dignitaries in order of precedence, and after them anybody of standing who wished to be introduced to him and to ask him for some favour. From what we know of the Persian court ceremonial, we can imagine this audience as a very colourful scene. And on the reliefs, as in the literary sources, this very scene is depicted with the king seated on his golden throne under a baldachin, the sceptre and the lotus flower in his hands, resplendent in a diadem of gold, a gold necklace, and gold bracelets. Guards, high court officials and the masters of ceremonies are standing by his side, the latter always being the highest dignitaries of the empire.¹⁹ The king is receiving the Chiliarch or the introduced person, who has to keep at a certain distance. Vessels with incense are standing between him and the king. Of the attendants behind the king, the first (either behind his throne or next to the crown prince) wears a long dress and a muffler cap. He is beardless, and above the muffler no trace of a moustache can be seen. The second attendant is slightly taller, has a beard and wears no cap but a diadem, the Median headdress. All this clearly belongs to the strictly observed court ceremonial which, as we know, had a symbolic meaning in every one of its features.²⁰

The connexion between these Persian reliefs, all of which are to be dated in the fifth century B.C.,²¹ and our group on the Lycian monuments is quite obvious. The empty space in front of the ruler, his attitude, the throne, sceptre and lotus flower, and these two attendants, who on the reliefs were behind the king, according to the literary sources were by his side: all this recurs again and again, on Persian and Lycian monuments. Even the minor details

¹⁷ The conquest of Lycia by Harpagos, the general of Cyrus, is to be dated not later than 538 B.C. This campaign consisted mainly in the siege and capture of Xanthus, described in detail by Herodotus i. 176. This Harpagos was a Mede and ἀνὴρ οὐκίος of Deioke (Hdt. i. 108) and οὐγγυγνής of Astyages (Hdt. i. 109), thus of royal blood himself. As the ruler of Xanthus who erected the Xanthian Stele on the agora calls himself son of Harpagos (T.A.M. i. 44; the stele dates from the beginning of the fourth century), it is very probable that members of the house of Harpagos were in some sort of command in Lycia ever since the conquest.

¹⁸ E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, pl. 67a and b; A. U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, iv, pl. 88; E. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis* (Oriental Institute of Chicago Communications 21), 1939, 21 ff., figs. 14, 16. These are the most recent publications dealing with the subject.

¹⁹ It is to be noted that these two court officials take precedence over the carrier of the royal weapons and over the officers of the king's bodyguard. They are also the only persons to accompany the king on several other occasions (as shown on other reliefs from Persepolis, e.g. the portals). And every time the sole attribute of their office is a towel or napkin, neatly folded, or a fly-whisk, or a scent-bottle. And their attire is always the same. Neither of them can be the famous Hazarapatis, the Major-domo and Grand-Vizier of the empire, who was the commander of the king's bodyguard (Xenophon translates Hazarapatis by Chiliarch, in *Cyrop.* viii. 6). One of them may be the 'Eye of the King' who was still more prominent than the Hazarapatis, and to whom was entrusted the control of the empire (E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* iii. 43). And it seems very likely, as E. F. Schmidt has shown (*Treasury of Persepolis*, 26 ff.) that the other was the 'Cupbearer', who held the rank of a priest in Xerxes' times and was also responsible for the king's safety. The office of the Cupbearer was, at least in later Achaemenian times, just as that of the Hazarapatis himself, in the hands of eunuchs, as several literary sources indicate. And this information seems born out by the reliefs where the person is depicted without

beard or moustache (which would be visible above the muffler). Cf. J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. von Eran*, i. 57 ff., 224 ff., ii. 158 ff.; F. W. König, *Altperische Adelsgeschlechter*, in *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunst des Morgenlandes*, 1924, xxxi, 289 ff.; 1926, xxxiii, 23 ff., 37 ff.; 1928, xxxv, 1 ff.; F. W. König, *Der falsche Bardija*, in *Klitho* 4, 1938, passim; E. F. Schmidt, *Treasury of Persepolis*, 26 ff.

²⁰ This court ceremonial was by no means a short-lived institution but a long established religious ritual, as is proved by an Assyrian fresco painting, almost identical in contents with the Persian reliefs (Fig. 6), Syria ix, pl. xxiii ff. Fragments of a similar painting from the palace of Nineveh are in the British Museum. For the king with two attendants accompanying him, many more examples of Assyrian art could be mentioned, chiefly reliefs, e.g. Assurbanipal's Hunt, the Banquet of Assurbanipal, Sanherib's Sacrifice (Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, figs. 46, 48, 117), etc. For the description of the Assyrian ceremonial in contemporary literature, see F. E. Peiser, *Studien zur orient. Altertumskunde*, in *M.V.A.G.* 1898, 253, 1. 16 ff. On the other hand, this same court ceremonial was continued by the Seleucids, after them by the Arsacids (Philostat., *Vita Apollon. Tyan.* i, 27 ff. describes such an audience at the Arsacid court in the first century A.D.), and after them by the Sasanids (Arabic and Byzantine writers give ample information about this; cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 113, 221) and by the Khalifs all through the Middle Ages.

²¹ The date of the Treasury reliefs has recently been stated as between 490 and 486 B.C. (E. F. Schmidt, *Treasury of Persepolis*, 33), and the king and crown prince may be taken to represent Darius and Xerxes, as on the corresponding reliefs of the Tripylon. The Apadana was completed by Xerxes himself. But as for the Hundred-Column Hall, E. Herzfeld discovered in the south-west corner a stone slab stating in Babylonian that Artaxerxes I erected this structure on the foundations prepared by his father Xerxes (Herzfeld, *Altper. Inschr.*, in *Arch. Mitt. Iran*, 1. Ergänzungsband, 1938, p. 45), and thus the date of these reliefs cannot be before 465 B.C. It was possibly somewhat later in the reign of Artaxerxes I.

are all to be found in Persia and in Lycia. And surely it is not unreasonable to suppose that this court ceremonial was introduced into Lycia during the two centuries when Lycia formed a part of the Persian Empire. I think there is enough evidence to support this view even without further consideration of the fact that Lycia was governed, during a certain time, by the Medo-Persian family of Harpagos,²² and that, less than a century after the Harpy Tomb was built, the son of Harpagos erected the Xanthian Stele only about 50 paces from the Tomb, on the agora itself, and described himself on it as ruler of Xanthus and of all the Lycians.

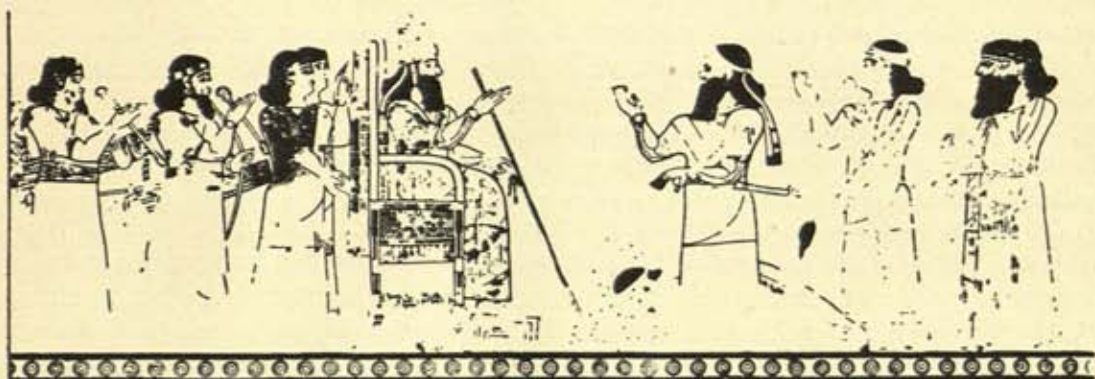


FIG. 6.—ASSYRIAN FRESCO PAINTING.

If it be objected that this Eastern ceremonial might not have been known to the Greeks, and consequently would not have been depicted in such detail in a work of Greek art, I would mention the many Greek authors describing this ceremonial, and show a painting (Fig. 7) from the interior of a shield on a Greek sarcophagus, called the Alexander Sarcophagus.²³ This work of purely Greek art shows again very faithfully the same scene with the same details.

If we now return to the Harpy Tomb, I think we cannot fail to be impressed by the striking similarity that is to be noticed here. And almost instinctively we look for the royal tiara of the ruler—the only detail that seems to be omitted. Everything else has been faithfully represented. But there seems to be no tiara or Phrygian cap, as on all the other Lycian monuments of this character. Yet, let me draw attention to the contour of the back of the ruler's head, a perfectly straight line (Pl. I). This excludes any possibility of hair forming the contour of the head.

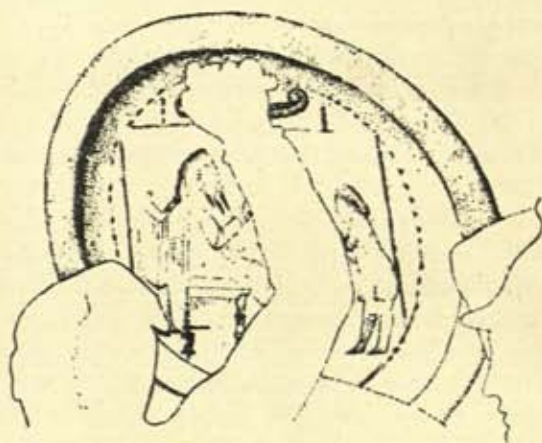


FIG. 7.—PAINTING IN SHIELD ON THE 'ALEXANDER' SARCOPHAGUS.

²² It is very probable that the detailed account of Harpagos' campaign by Herodotus, and his stories about the miraculous preservation and the rise of Cyrus (in which Harpagos plays a predominant rôle) were partly derived from some member or members of the house of Harpagos, and later corrected by some Persian friend of Herodotus (Zopyros?). This Harpagid family claimed descent from Deïokes the Mede (cf. note 18), and as they seem to have stood in close connexion with Lycia, Herodotus may well have come across them there. For this 'Harpagid tradition' in Herodotus, see R. Schubert, *Herodots Darstellung der Kyrossage*, 1900, 76; F. Justi, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 410; J. V. Prasek in *Klio*, 1904, iv, 199 ff.; and How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, 1936, notes to book i.

²³ On the short side (north). Cf. Mendel, *Cat. Mus. Ottom.*, i, 189 (Fig. to the left); Winter, *Sarkophage von*

Sidon, 14 f., pl. 7, 18. The sarcophagus dates from the end of the fourth century B.C. Yet it is hardly likely that it could have been made by an artist who actually saw the Persepolis reliefs. Persepolis was sacked and burnt down immediately after its capture by Alexander. It is agreed that the sarcophagus is of Attic workmanship, and the many allusions to the Persian court ceremonial and customs in Aeschylus' *Persae* (in language, expressions, ideas, and even in the metre of the dialogues) show that this ceremonial was quite well known in contemporary Athens. Otherwise, how could all these allusions have been understood by the listeners? Writers like Herodotus and Xenophon had also their share in making the people of Athens well acquainted with Persian customs and ritual. Surely the Greeks of the mainland, and even more so the Asiatic Greeks had not to rely on hearsay to describe or depict Eastern ceremonial in a work of art.

Wherever hair is depicted or indicated on this monument, the back line of the head is undulating. Here, the rivet hole for the metal wreath still remains, and its place is outside this contour, which is as straight as if drawn with a ruler. All this definitely recalls the head of the first attendant with his cap and tassel. These are the only examples of a straight line and a rivet hole outside the head contour, and one of them plainly shows a cap. Unfortunately the ruler's head is too weathered to allow of additional proof, but I almost think this is enough to suggest that he too may have worn some sort of headdress. True, there are no signs of a tassel, but a ruler, whether a satrap or the Persian king himself, never wore a cap with a tassel: it was the royal tiara or diadem that he wore, or the so-called Phrygian cap, with a metal wreath around it. That this was also worn by the Lycian princes is proved by many examples, especially on coins from Xanthus.²⁴

Now, if we only had this evidence of the head contours, we should probably say, it is not unlikely that this enthroned man wore a tiara or diadem, and was a ruler. But we have to consider this detail in connexion with all the rest of the ceremonial, the empty space in front, the two attendants behind, the throne, the sceptre, and the lotus flower. Besides, we must bear in mind that, of the Lycian monuments quoted as parallels, though all but one come from Xanthus, there are only two which date from the fifth century B.C. and they are somewhat later than the Harpy Tomb. This agrees with, and rather confirms the assumption that the court ceremonial was only depicted on sepulchral monuments of rulers, and not indiscriminately on tombs of private persons. The Harpy Tomb was the earliest of these monuments showing the court ceremonial, and this tradition must have started with a ruler. And here it may be useful to remember that the Harpy Tomb stood on the Xanthian agora, close to the Xanthian Stele. If we bear all this in mind, I feel sure that, whether this enthroned man on the Harpy Tomb wore a cap or not, there is room for one conclusion only: this is the ruler of Xanthus, he and his court ceremonial are represented on his tomb, on its east side facing the agora for all his people to see.

Similarly, a later ruler of Xanthus, 'the son of Harpagos,' speaks to his people on the south side of the Xanthian Stele, facing the agora, and gives his name and descent. The two frieze fragments dating from the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. (B 309 and B 310 in the British Museum; they come from different friezes: *Cat.*, p. 141) were found built into the wall of the acropolis, and so their original position is not known. But again on the Nereid Monument, the ruler who erected this kind of mausoleum presents himself to his people on its east side, facing the inhabited quarters of the town, though this time not amidst court ceremonial but as a Graeco-Lycian prince with his family, seated opposite to his wife, the children standing behind their parents.

We have yet to discuss the right-hand group of the east side of the Harpy Tomb. I shall do this as briefly as possible. The figures represented are a boy and a young man worshipping the ruler (Pl. II, III, IV c, d). Why a boy? Perhaps it was his own son. But it does occur to us that, on the Persian reliefs too, the person in front of the king was of very much smaller, almost diminutive dimensions compared with the other figures. It was a Persian noble, not a boy, but his size was so reduced in order to show the king as something more than a simple mortal.²⁵ For the same reason the strictly observed distance and the empty space before him were part of these reliefs. Here we have an equivalent in art to what literary sources record as traditional attributive expressions added to the name of the Persian king, describing according to a prescribed formula his greatness, his superiority, and his sacredness. On the Harpy Tomb, the artist, if he was a Greek and not accustomed to this way of

²⁴ Babelon, *Traité*, ii, 8 ff.; *Rev. Num.* 1908; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1898, 199 ff.; Hill, *B.M. Cat. Coins, Lycia*, pl. vi, ff.; cf. also head from Ephesus, Pryce, *B.M. Cat.* B 215, Fig. 132.

²⁵ This was a sacred law, and had been a rule in Persian art from its very beginning. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii, 3, 14 even goes a little further: when describing the splendid procession of Cyrus, he states that the very tall charioteer of Cyrus was yet much smaller than Cyrus himself. Does

this mean that the rule of emphasising the difference in size between the king, his immediate followers, and the other people, was also applied to simple narratives in an oral tradition? I cannot help feeling that Xenophon was simply describing a picture or relief, though he does not say so this time. It is to be noted, however, that Xenophon usually does mention reliefs and pictures if he describes them, e.g. *Cyrop.* i, 2, 13.

reducing the size of one figure for the glorification of another, would give this smaller figure the appearance of a young boy. Similarly he endowed the figures of the left-hand group with Greek attributes and Greek drapery, adapting a conventional Greek exterior and adjusting the commission given by his employers to his own capacity and style. This was quite in conformity with Lycian tradition in art, which always had a Grecising tendency. However this may be, one thing is certain: for all the details on these reliefs the artist made full use of the Greek models and patterns which he knew. For the right angle-slab especially we may find quite a number of models in Greek art. Both the boy presenting an offering,²⁶ and the man with his dog were among the favourite subjects for tombstones in Greece.²⁷ The offering of a cock is connected both with Persian and with Greek ritual. In Lycia, the offering of a cock at a tomb seems to have been a tradition that survived well into Hellenistic and even Roman times.²⁸ The offering of a rhyton with wine is well known to have a similar bearing and similar connexions, and was quite frequently represented on Lycian tombs.

And so we may come to the explanation of the difference already noticed between the left-hand group and the right-hand one. To the left, the artist had to represent the traditional and very strictly observed features of the Lycian court ceremonial, a task which did not allow him much freedom of movement nor much liberty to choose among the stock of types and models or patterns of his own experience, he could only apply his own imagination and his collected specimens of figures to minor details, such as the drapery, the throne, and the small Triton on it.²⁹ In contrast to this, the commission to represent on the right-hand side some of the prince's worshippers, courtiers, or relatives, gave him much more liberty to choose among his own repertory of designs and models. That is probably why the right half of the east side seems more Greek in its character, whereas the left half reflects to a somewhat greater extent the formal Oriental influence in art.

If we accept that view, the east side of the Harpy Tomb may be considered an excellent example of the way in which the Grecising tendency worked in the Near East. We are used to thinking that Grecism is simply a more or less unskilled imitation of Greek design and Greek principles by non-Greek peoples and craftsmen. This is not true. Grecising means adapting foreign principles to a Greek appearance, clothing foreign ideas in a Greek dress. The belief and ritual remain unchanged, but the language and expression become Greek.

In a similar manner an 'Orientalising' tendency had spread from the East to the West in archaic times. Ideas and expressions, motives and designs were fluctuating from coast to coast, from island to island. But they were not always simply borrowed or copied, and the Greeks did not feel they belonged to an oriental world because they accepted an orientalising style. Their belief and their faith remained unchanged. 'Orientalising' and 'Grecising' seem but two unifying tendencies towards one common aim in this ancient world of Eurasia.

And thus we may be able to trace here both the underlying tendencies: we see the dynasty of Xanthus and his Lycian court ceremonial, with all the symbolic and religious ritual of Eastern origin faithfully observed, and over it, the emanation from the radiant light of Greece; the uplifted head and freely raised arms of the boy, the tranquil and unforced bearing of the

²⁶ A small boy or girl bringing offerings to their dead parents was frequently depicted on Greek vases and reliefs. The best examples to be compared with this scene on the Harpy Tomb, are the well-known archaic Laconian reliefs (*Ath. Mitt.* iv, pl. 8, 1-2), where also the offerings are the same as on the Harpy Tomb.

²⁷ Among the earlier tombstones with this group of man and dog, cf. the Anaxandros stele in Sophia (from Apollonia; *Jahrb.* 1902, pl. 1), the Naples stele (Rayet 19; *B.-B.* 416; it can be traced back to Sardis), the Alxenor stele from Orchomenos (Naxian; *B.-B.* 41), and the Agathocles stele (Athens, *Nat. Mus.* 724) and Aegina stele (*A.D.* i, 33). The tradition survives in the fourth century as shown on the Delphi stele (Bulle, pl. 265), the Thespieae stele in Athens (Collignon, *Stat. Junér.* Fig. 68), and on the Ilissos stele (Conze ii, pl. 211). But vases prove that this was a favourite subject also in the sixth century, cf. the Timonidas pinax from Corinth, the amphora 2303 in Munich (Richter,

Ancient Furniture, Fig. 163), and that it also spread to Italy (South Italian amphora in Rome, Vatican; Collignon, *Stat. Junér.*, Fig. 67).

²⁸ See the inscription on a late Lycian rock tomb from Bel near Sidyma (*T.A.M.* ii, 1, 245; *J.H.S.* 1914, xxxiv, 5 ff. n. 10):

Βούλομαι καθ' ἑτος θύεσθαι ἡμῖν ἀλέκτορα καὶ δρωῖθα τέλειαν
καὶ καλὴν ἅμα τῷ μύλλειν συναίρειν τὰ γενήματα . . .

²⁹ All these minor details could not be dealt with in this paper. Also the question of dating the monument and of analysing its style must be left for a later occasion. The attempt at an interpretation of the other three sides of the Harpy Tomb was briefly outlined in a paper which I read to the Hellenic Society at Cambridge on May 4th, 1943. I trust I shall be forgiven for not compressing it into a few pages for the sake of immediate publication.

youth, the natural and impulsive attitude of the dog. And in this light the whole scene acquires a meaning for the eye even of a Greek; for him it is simply the worshipping of a hero. The offering of a cock and of wine express this in Greek art quite clearly, and the attendants also conform to this Greek custom by holding pomegranates among other attributes. Thus the east side was fully intelligible to Orientals and to Greeks. Both could understand its meaning and, in a border country like Lycia, this was not merely desirable but perhaps essential in that fifth century which marks the beginning both of the collision and of the amalgamation of the Oriental and the Greek worlds.

F. J. TRITSCH

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1939-1940

It need hardly be emphasised that the survey of the past two years' work in the field of Greek epigraphy which I here offer can make no pretension to completeness. The interruption of communications consequent upon the war has robbed me of access to the majority of the relevant books and periodicals published on the Continent during the last months of 1939 and the whole of 1940. Nevertheless, in view of the amount and importance of the work noted in the following pages, I think it better to write my account, imperfect though it must needs be, in the accustomed form and at the usual time, rather than to hold back my material until the return of peace and the re-establishment of communications enable me to fill the serious gaps which remain. I hope that my next review will be written in conditions which will make it possible to complete this survey of 1939 and 1940 while at the same time summarising the publications of 1941 and 1942. Once again I ask all those scholars who have materially assisted my task by the gift of copies of their works to accept this assurance of my warmest gratitude.

As before, I mark with an asterisk books or articles which I have not personally consulted.

Among the scholars who have died during the two years under review are some who have made contributions of great and lasting value to Greek epigraphical studies, notably E. Bourguet,¹ R. Cagnat,² C. C. Edgar,³ J. B. Frey⁴ and W. M. Ramsay.⁵ Some of the veterans continue their work with unflagging vigour and unabated ability, such as J. Kirchner, who attained the age of 80 on September 25, 1939, and F. Hiller von Gaertringen and A. Wilhelm, who respectively completed their seventy-fifth year on August 3 and September 10 of the same year.⁶ Further impressions of the Amsterdam Epigraphical Congress of 1938 have been recorded by H. Nesselhauf,⁷ A. Salac,⁸ A. Calderini,⁹ and F. Sokolowski.¹⁰

I. GENERAL.

My summary for 1937-38 appeared in *JHS* lix. 241 ff., and, so far as Egypt and Nubia are concerned, in *JEA* xxv. 89 ff. Other bibliographies, among which the masterly 'Bulletin Épigraphique'¹¹ of R. Flacelière and J. and L. Robert is in my judgement the most complete and valuable, continue to appear in their usual form, covering either the whole field¹² or a selected portion of it,¹³ and to their number is added a new and elaborate 'Bollettino di epigrafia greco-romana'¹⁴ under the direction of A. Calderini. Attention may also be drawn to the indexes which have been published of *AJPh* xli-lx¹⁵ and of *MélBeyr* i-xix.¹⁶

Of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* one new instalment, that containing the supplements to vol. xii, edited by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, has appeared, but is still inaccessible to me. Of J. J. E. Hondius' *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* the first part of vol. ix has been published (see p. 83). L. Montevecchi pursues her researches¹⁷ among the codices of the libraries of Milan and Imola, to the enrichment of Latin rather than of Greek epigraphy. L. Robert has published¹⁸ an inaugural lecture on 'L'épigraphie grecque au Collège de France,' in which he discusses the services rendered to epigraphical study and teaching by Letronne,

¹ *REA* xli. 105, *RA* xiii. 256 ff.

² *Rev. Tunis.* 1938, 3 ff., *Rendic. R. Acc. di Bologna*, IV. i. 145 f.

³ *Annales du Service*, xxxix. 3 ff.

⁴ *Biblica*, xx. 358 f.

⁵ *CRAcInscr* 1939, 231 ff.

⁶ *Gnomon*, xv. 463 f., 528.

⁷ *Klio*, xxxi. 445 ff.

⁸ *Hludka Arch.* xi. 408.

⁹ *Epigraphica*, i. 5 ff., *Aegyptus*, xviii. 358.

¹⁰ *Eos*, xxxix. 575 ff.

¹¹ *REG* lii. 445 ff.

¹² P. Geissler, *Archäol. Bibliogr.* 1938, 229 ff., W. Abel-G. Reincke, *Bibl. phil. class.* lxiv. 124 ff.

¹³ *Glotta*, xxvii. 212 ff. (1936), *Riv. arch. crist.* xvi. 182 ff., 391 ff., *BZ* xxxix. 312 ff., *BNGJ* xv. 338 ff., *RA* xii. 311 ff., *Stud. et doc.* v. 521 ff. (1936-8).

¹⁴ *Epigraphica*, i. 86 ff., 207 ff., 357 ff.

¹⁵ *AJPh* lx. 519 ff.

¹⁶ *MélBeyr* xx. 161 ff.

¹⁷ *Epigraphica*, i. 53 ff., 172 ff.

¹⁸ Paris, 1939; cf. *REA* xli. 305, *MélBeyr* xxii. 193 f.

P. Foucart and M. Holleaux, adding a bibliography of Foucart's works. His article¹⁹ entitled 'Hellenica,' almost on the scale of a book, attests on every page those qualities of wellnigh superhuman industry, insight and learning which characterise all his work and evoke the amazement of every reader; its main contents will be briefly summarised in their appropriate places in the following pages.

Of A. S. Arvanitopoulos' ambitious work on Greek epigraphy two instalments have now been issued²⁰; they contain a general introduction to the subject, followed by a historical survey, somewhat curiously arranged, of the Greek alphabet, divided into nine chapters, which deal respectively with the fixation of the alphabet by Archinus and the changes in letter-forms which occurred in course of time, the pre-Euclidic alphabets, the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, epigraphical symbols and transcription, directions of writing, changes in the Attic alphabet, the Island, Ionic, Corinthian and Chalcidic alphabets, and the Cyprian syllabic script. To B. D. Meritt we owe a delightful little book,²¹ which fills a serious gap in epigraphical literature and imparts some of the thrill and excitement of the epigraphist's work while emphasising also the exacting nature of its demands; it comprises four lectures, entitled 'Readings,' 'Reconstruction,' 'Lettering' and 'Restoration,' and vividly pictures the tasks confronting the student who from the inscribed stone, perhaps broken and defaced, seeks to win a document of historic value, setting forth the principles of that 'science of architectural epigraphy,' of which the author is an acknowledged master. His illustrative examples are all taken from Attic inscriptions, but the principles and methods enunciated are of a far wider application. Another work of first-class quality is R. P. Austin's thorough examination²² of that widespread and immensely important phenomenon of Greek inscriptions, the *stoichedon* arrangement of the letters, of which the same scholar elsewhere²³ gives a briefer and more popular account. A further useful work, marked by extraordinary industry and accuracy, is M. Avi-Yonah's collection and discussion²⁴ of the epigraphical abbreviations and contractions found in the inscriptions of the Near East from 200 B.C. to A.D. 1100, while another feature of Greek writing, for which our evidence is derived almost wholly from inscriptions, the use of the acrophonic numeral system, has been examined²⁵ afresh by M. N. Tod, who devotes special attention to the local varieties found at Epidaurus, Thespiae, Delphi, Olynthus, Delos and Cyrene, and adds an index of all the places where this type of numeral signs is represented. L. H. Jeffery comments²⁶ on a peculiar form of *omega* which occurs in two archaic texts of Phlius and Perachora, F. S. Crawford suggests²⁷ that the sporadic appearance in Greek inscriptions of the sign Η with the value *hē*, especially in divine names and titles, may be 'a survival from the syllabic writing used in Greece before the adoption of the Semitic alphabet,' and F. R. Blake's article on the development of vowel-signs in alphabets of Phoenician derivation contains a short section²⁸ on the Greek symbols for the vowels.

In the field of grammar and metric A. Wilhelm has made the chief contributions, displaying once again that astonishing command of the whole epigraphical materials in which he and Robert stand supreme, and incidentally correcting previous readings, restorations and interpretations of numerous texts. He collects²⁹ from inscriptions of Mistia, Elacussa, Termessus, Perinthus and Indjik (Pamphylia) examples of the phrase εἰ δ' οὖν. In an article³⁰ on Greek syntax he discusses, with a wealth of examples, 'prepositionless genitives' (pp. 117 ff.), the present tense combined with an expression referring to the past (pp. 129 ff.), and various dislocations in the order of words (pp. 132 ff.), ending with an invaluable index of inscriptions discussed or amended (p. 149); the article contains an interesting passage (pp. 126 ff.)

¹⁹ *ReoPhil* xiii. 97ff.

²⁰ *Ἐπιγραφικά*, I, II, Athens, 1937-39.

²¹ *Epigraphica Attica*, Harvard U.P., 1940.

²² *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford U.P., 1938; cf. *JournSav* 1939, 242 f., *ClPhil* xxxiv. 383 ff., *ClRev* liii. 204 ff., *AJA* xliii. 534 ff., *AJPh* lxi. 121 f.

²³ *Greece and Rome*, viii. 129 ff.

²⁴ *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* ix Suppl., 1940.

²⁵ *BSA* xxxvii. 236 ff.

²⁶ *JHS* lix. 139.

²⁷ *ProcAPA* lxix. xxxiii f.

²⁸ *JAOS* lx. 398 f.

²⁹ *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist.* vi. 357 ff.

³⁰ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 117 ff.

relating to fines for tomb-violation and comments upon two metrical phenomena, the absence of caesura in the third foot of a hexameter line (pp. 142 f.) and the substitution of a trochee for a dactyl in pentameter or hexameter verse (pp. 145 f.). He is mainly concerned with metrical questions in another article,³¹ based upon an epigram quoted by Lucian (*Symposium*, 41); among the matters discussed are the shortening of α and ου (pp. 56 f.), hiatus (pp. 56 f., 67, 86 f.), the use of a spondee in the second half of a pentameter (pp. 57 ff.), the transposition of hexameter and pentameter in the couplet (pp. 67 f., 81 ff.) and the metrical lengthening of the augment (pp. 87 f.), and contributions are made to the text or exegesis of almost a score of metrical inscriptions. O. J. Todd also collects³² examples of unusual rhythm or metre in epigrams. Attention may also be drawn to the section³³ of L. Robert's above-mentioned article entitled 'Onomastica,' in which certain personal and local names are examined and Grégoire's derivation of the word *caballus* is criticised.

From speech we turn to action, and note some works relative to Greek political, social and economic activity based mainly or wholly on epigraphical foundations; numerous other examples, relating to special localities, will be found in the following pages. A. H. M. Jones' synoptic discussion of *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*³⁴ utilises all the available evidence, among which inscriptions play a prominent rôle, and the same is true of his essay³⁵ on the *civitates liberae et immunes* in the eastern provinces of the Empire. F. Hampl's long article on 'Poleis ohne Territorium'³⁶ also makes use of a number of inscriptions. E. Groag's monograph³⁷ on the Roman imperial officials in the province of Achaëa from the reign of Caesar to that of Diocletian is worthy of that master of prosopographical study, and inscriptions, quoted in full but without commentary, play the leading part in M. P. Charlesworth's *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero*³⁸; twenty-four of these are Greek or bilingual, drawn from every quarter of the Greek world. G. Downey's dissertation *A Study of the Comites Orientis and the Consulares Syriae*³⁹ also derives some of its materials from inscriptions. The volumes of T. Frank's *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*⁴⁰ which deal with Roman Egypt and with Africa, Syria, Greece and Asia Minor draw from the same source some of their most precise and detailed information, L. C. West's notes⁴¹ on the contents and omissions of Diocletian's famous edict of A.D. 301 seek to show that the needs of the army and the civil service, rather than those of the mass of the population, were uppermost in Diocletian's mind and that the measure was intended to apply to the whole Empire rather than to its eastern provinces only, and H. Volkmann's article⁴² on Δόκιμα χρήματα has a wider scope than the Eretrian inscription which affords its starting-point. O. Fiebiger's 'Inscriptensammlung zur Geschichte der Ostgermanen'⁴³ contains eighty-six inscriptions, of which fourteen are Greek and one is bilingual. L. Robert deals⁴⁴ in characteristic fashion with a group of two decrees and two epigrams, from Cos, Samos, Lambaesis and Bithynia, relative to doctors; his work⁴⁵ on the gladiators of the Greek East, much of the material of which is derived from epigraphical sources, I have not yet seen.

Marked progress has also been made in the utilisation of epigraphical data for the study of various aspects of Greek religious beliefs and practices. Specially noteworthy is M. Guarducci's second and concluding article⁴⁶ on the institution of the phratry in the Greek world, which covers the Aeolian and Dorian states, Sicily, Naples and the Asiatic phratries of the Imperial period, and republishes *in extenso* the relevant inscriptions, including a fragmentary name-list hitherto unpublished (No. XXIX bis). An important essay⁴⁷ by A. Cameron

³¹ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 54 ff.

³² *ClQu* xxxiii. 163 ff.

³³ *RevPhil* xiii. 174 ff.

³⁴ Clarendon Press, 1940.

³⁵ *Anatolian Studies* (see note 434), 103 ff.

³⁶ *Klio*, xxxii. 1 ff.

³⁷ *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia* (Schriften der Balkankommission: Antiquarische Abteilung, IX), Vienna, 1939.

³⁸ Cambridge U.P., 1939; cf. *AJA* xlv. 175.

³⁹ Princeton, 1939; cf. *MélByz* xxii. 195 f.

⁴⁰ II, IV, Baltimore, 1936-8; cf. *AJPh* lx. 363 ff., *ClRev* liv. 107 ff.

⁴¹ *ClPhil* xxxiv. 239 ff.

⁴² *Hermes*, lxxiv. 99 ff.

⁴³ *DenkschrWien*, lxx. 3.

⁴⁴ *RevPhil* xiii. 163 ff.

⁴⁵ * *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*.

⁴⁶ *Mem. Linc.* VI. viii. 2; cf. *REG* lii. 452, 486, 503, 537 f., *Stud. et doc.* v. 542 ff.

⁴⁷ *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxii. 143 ff.; cf. *ClWeekly*, xxxiii. 71.

discusses documents from Edessa, Susa and Oenoanda recording manumissions which take the form of dedications to a divinity and two interesting confessions from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos, while W. Kamps investigates ⁴⁸ the origins of the religious endowment in ancient Greece, and A. Parrot examines ⁴⁹ the curses directed in numerous sepulchral inscriptions against violators of tombs. H. W. Parke's ample volume ⁵⁰ on the Delphic Oracle makes use of such inscriptions (disappointingly few, it must be admitted) as throw light upon the procedure, policy and influence of Pythian Apollo and his priests. In a third volume, ⁵¹ of more than 1300 pages, A. B. Cook brings to a close his monumental work on Zeus, once more attesting a close and fruitful scrutiny of all the epigraphical evidence for the cult of the supreme deity of the Hellenic world. He here deals with the relation of Zeus to earthquakes, clouds, wind, dew, rain and meteorites, and ends with a statement of his general conclusions about Zeus of the dark sky, appendices on floating islands, the prompting Eros and the *ἑρὸς γάμος*, addenda and indices. J. D. Beazley's article ⁵² on Prometheus the fire-lighter starts from the figures and names of gods, heroes, satyrs and men painted on an Attic kalix-krater of about 425-20 B.C. recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and A. Wilhelm, discussing ⁵³ the Lemnian *πυρφορία*, proposes to read *καθ' ἐνάτου ἔτους* in Philostratus, *Heroicus*, xx. 24, in place of *καθ' ἑνα τοῦ ἔτους*, adducing numerous epigraphical examples of *ἐνάτος* and of *κατά* used of periodic repetition. P. A. Clement examines ⁵⁴ the Thessalian cult of Enodia, with whom he identifies the 'goddess of Pherae,' a deity of the type of Hecate. M. Guarducci adds a postscript ⁵⁵ to her discussion of Euclea, and U. Wilcken publishes an essay ⁵⁶ on the origin of the Hellenistic ruler-cult, dealing with Alexander the Great, the Diadochi and the royal cults of the Ptolemies and Seleucids; he pays special attention (pp. 318 ff.) to an important edict of the late third century B.C. from Durdurkar (*OGI* 224 = Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, No. 36), our sole authority for an official dynastic cult created by a Seleucid monarch, probably Antiochus III, and co-extensive with the whole Empire.

I note briefly in passing some inscriptions on vases and other earthenware articles, excluding those which appear in publications primarily devoted to ceramics; to some of them I allude again under the several localities in which they have come to light. S. Ferri discusses ⁵⁷ at considerable length the Greek vases with 'acclamatory' inscriptions, J. H. Iliffe continues, in a second article, ⁵⁸ his examination of *sigillata*-wares in the Near East, M. J. Milne uses ⁵⁹ some epigraphical evidence to support her contention that the 'pyxis' must be renamed 'kylichnis,' C. Roebuck illustrates ⁶⁰ three inscribed white-ground plaques by the Cerberus-painter, V. Grace's 'Notes on Stamped Jars' ⁶¹ deal with the officials named on Cnidian jars, the results obtained by measuring the capacities of some seventy-five jars, and the bearing of these data on the question why jars were stamped, and H. H. Stow's sumptuous collection of forty plates relating to *Greek Athletics and Festivals in the Fifth Century* ⁶² includes six (Nos. 2, 4, 8, 11, 32-3) depicting inscribed vases of various types. A broken tile from Athens bearing a graffito is published ⁶³ by E. Vanderpool, and a plate signed by Sotes and Paederos by O. Broneer and by C. Roebuck, who also deals with many other inscribed vases and sherds found on the N. slope of the Acropolis (below, p. 57), while M. T. Campbell examines ⁶⁴ the contents of a well of the b.-f. period at Corinth including some graffito and dipinti, and G. Mylonas reports ⁶⁵ the discovery of a stamped amphora-handle near Philippi. Of six similar handles from Egypt, Rhodes and Loryma, now in the Museum of the American Academy in Rome, C. P. Ludlum gives a description, ⁶⁶ and A. Minto publishes three frag-

⁴⁸ *Arch. Hist. Droit Orient.* i. 145 ff.

⁴⁹ * *Malédiction et violations de tombes*, Paris, 1939; cf. *AJA* xliv. 153, *RevBibl* xlix. 297 ff.

⁵⁰ *A History of the Delphic Oracle*, Oxford, 1939.

⁵¹ *Zeus*, III, Cambridge U.P., 1940.

⁵² *AJA* xliii. 618 ff.

⁵³ *WienAnz* 1939, 41 ff.

⁵⁴ *Hesperia*, viii. 200.

⁵⁵ *Studi e mat.* xv. 58 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlv. 127.

⁵⁶ *SBBerl* 1938, 298 ff.

⁵⁷ *Rend. Linc.* xiv. 93 ff.

⁵⁸ *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* ix. 31 ff.; cf. *JRS* xxx. 124.

⁵⁹ *AJA* xliii. 247 ff.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 467 ff.

⁶¹ *AJA* xlv. 112.

⁶² Boston, 1940.

⁶³ *Hesperia*, viii. 258 ff.

⁶⁴ *Hesperia*, vii. 605 ff.

⁶⁵ *Прокл* 1938, 15; cf. *BCH* lxii. 475.

⁶⁶ *Mem. Am. Acad.* xv. 19.

ments⁶⁷ of r.-f. Attic kylikes, two with καλός-inscriptions and one signed by Pamphaeus, from Orvieto. Among inscribed Greek vases in Museums beyond the limits of the Greek world I note one at Oslo with a new καλός-inscription published⁶⁸ by S. Marstrand, a b.-f. skyphos⁶⁹ inscribed Πιστίος and a r.-f. Attic column-krater in the Ny Carlsberg collection at Copenhagen, the well-known r.-f. Duris-vase at Berlin showing verses written on a teacher's book, which H. Lucas revises⁷⁰ and tentatively assigns to the beginning of the Aethiopis, a r.-f. lekythos⁷¹ of about 460 acquired by the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst at Munich, a lamp of the second century A.D. in the British Museum discussed⁷² by L. Poinssot, a r.-f. pelike⁷³ by the Meidias-painter in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and a Saconides in Sydney identified⁷⁴ by J. D. Beazley.

S. Eitrem devotes an interesting article⁷⁵ to magical gems and their dedication, containing a general account of amulets and a discussion of some examples in the National Museum at Copenhagen. R. D. Barnett describes⁷⁶ a Jewish gold medallion later than the fifth century A.D., now in the Jewish Museum in London, and L. Poinssot comments⁷⁷ on an intaglio found at Thysdrus (el-Djem), now preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which represents the triumph of Augustus in the guise of Neptune. E. Bickel's examination of a Spanish gem is mentioned below (p. 75).

F. Poulsen's catalogue⁷⁸ of the sculptures in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek at Copenhagen includes thirty-three inscribed objects collected from various parts of the Greek world, L. Robert discusses⁷⁹ four inscriptions in the Louvre recently published⁸⁰ by A. Dain, R. Lullies' list of acquisitions of the collections of antiquities at Munich includes⁸¹ a fourth-century Attic *loutrophoros* from Velanideza and a r.-f. lekythos, both previously published, and G. R. Edwards' description⁸² of the classical collection of the Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Arts speaks of a bronze bull, probably from Thebes, inscribed ΗΙΕΡΟΙ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙ.

Of work relating to the origin and development of the Greek alphabet and of scripts which have some bearing upon it less has come to my notice than in recent years. A posthumous essay⁸³ by K. Sethe (who died in November, 1937) deals with the evolution of the alphabet from the ideogram; though the main emphasis is naturally laid on the Egyptian writing, he examines (pp. 56 ff.) the Sinaitic inscriptions, dating them between 1800 and 1600 B.C., and the Phoenician alphabet (pp. 48 ff.), whose origin he assigns to 1300-1000 B.C., and briefly surveys the formation and spread of the Greek alphabet (pp. 60 f.). D. Diringer publishes a short essay⁸⁴ on human writing, based upon the full account contained in his recent book (cf. *JHS* lix. 246), and R. Dussaud comments⁸⁵ on some works dealing with the origin and history of the alphabet. J. Leibovitch continues to study⁸⁶ the problem of the decipherment of the Sinaitic inscriptions, J. L. Myres discusses⁸⁷ the Phrygian script, S. Casson adds⁸⁸ a dozen bronze-age Cyprian signs to the sixty-one collected in his *Ancient Cyprus*, 98 ff., and calls for caution in attempts to transliterate them in the light of the Cyprian syllabary of classical times, S. P. Cortsen offers⁸⁹ a series of notes on, and a translation of, the Lemnian inscription B, and C. W. Blegen and K. Kourouniotis report⁹⁰ the discovery at Pylos of some 618 clay tablets, or fragments of such, inscribed in a form of the Minoan 'Linear B,' almost all of which are clearly lists or inventories. R. S. Young announces⁹¹

⁶⁷ *NSe* xv. 15, 31.

⁶⁸ *Symb. Oslo*. xix. 129 ff.

⁶⁹ A. Bruhn, *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek*, ii. 122 ff.

⁷⁰ *PhW* lix. 590 ff.

⁷¹ R. Lullies, *AA* 1938, 462 f.

⁷² *Rev. Tunis*. 1938, 205 ff.

⁷³ G. M. A. Richter, *AJA* xliii. 1 ff.

⁷⁴ *JHS* lix. 282 f.; cf. *AJA* xliv. 529.

⁷⁵ *Symb. Oslo*. xix. 57 ff.

⁷⁶ *JHS* lviii. 255 f.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 483 f.

⁷⁷ *Rev. Tunis*. 1938, 33 ff.

⁷⁸ *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Katalog over Antike Skulpturer*, Copenhagen, 1940.

⁷⁹ *RecPhil* xiii. 198 ff.; for a lead weight in Paris cf.

ibid. 185 f.

⁸⁰ *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre; les textes inédits*, Nos. 32, 57, 68, 184.

⁸¹ *AA* 1938, 421, 462 f.

⁸² *AJA* xliv. 111 f.

⁸³ *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben*, Leipzig, 1939; cf. *Chron. d'Ég.* xv. 85 ff., *Aegyptus*, xix. 351 f.

⁸⁴ *La scrittura* (*Bibliofilia*, xxxix), Florence, 1937.

⁸⁵ *Syria*, xx. 160.

⁸⁶ *Bull. Inst. Ég.* xx. 19 ff.

⁸⁷ *Iraq*, vi. 88 ff.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 39 ff.; cf. *Archaeologia*, lxxxviii. 139 ff.

⁸⁹ *Latomus*, ii. 3 ff.

⁹⁰ *AJA* xliii. 563 ff.

⁹¹ *AJA* xliv. 8 f.

that the excavation on Mount Hymettus in 1939 has brought to light no inscriptions certainly attributable to the eighth century or earlier, but has considerably increased the *corpus* of seventh-century inscriptions, and examines⁹² a series of early graffiti found in the Athenian Agora from the standpoint of the evidence they afford about the introduction into Greece of alphabetic writing; 'all the inscribed vases and fragments,' he concludes, 'can be dated about 700 and later; a vase bearing an alphabetical inscription of the eighth century has yet to be found.'

II. ATTICA.

A. Billheimer examines⁹³ a large number of Athenian documents cited by R. Laqueur in support of his theory of incorporation and combination of the elements of amended decrees; he concludes that, though unproved, the theory 'is one of several possible hypotheses which might explain the absence of formal amendments from Athenian decrees passed after the first quarter of the third century B.C.' T. L. Shear reports on the epigraphical fruits of the excavations carried out in the Athenian Agora in 1938⁹⁴ and 1939⁹⁵; in the former year 549 inscriptions and forty-two ostraka were unearthed, and the sum-total of inscriptions found by the close of 1939 was nearly 6000 and that of stamped amphora-handles nearly 10,000. I have already (p. 52) mentioned Meritt's *Epigraphica Attica*, and here only call attention to the 'Index of Inscriptions cited' (pp. 155 ff.) which adds greatly to its value.

[IG i².] *Down to 403 B.C.*—Among the new finds announced by Shear dating from the fifth or an earlier century are two sixth-century boundary-stones⁹⁶ inscribed *hópos eimi tēs ágorās* and an ostrakon⁹⁷ given against Hyperbolus, the final victim of the institution of ostracism. Excellent progress has been made with the publication of the Agora inscriptions by B. D. Meritt, E. Schweigert and W. K. Pritchett, who fully maintain the high standards of promptitude, accuracy, insight and learning which they have taught us to expect. In addition to new fragments, noted below, of inscriptions already known, Meritt edits⁹⁸ several wholly new texts, including a boundary of the 'Ανάκτων dating about 450 B.C. (No. 14), a choregic dedication of Leagros (No. 15), a boundary-marker of a trittys (No. 16), an interesting, if tantalising, fragment, engraved about 425, of an archon-list, in which the extant names belong apparently to the years 527–6 to 522–1 B.C. (No. 21), rejecting the almost irresistible temptation to restore in l. 8 the name of Peisistratus' grandson and namesake, whose archonship he dates⁹⁹ in 497–6 B.C. Elsewhere he publishes¹⁰⁰ four trittys-markers (Nos. 1–4), which add to our knowledge of the component trittyes of several Attic tribes. To Pritchett¹⁰¹ we owe a metrical dedication to Demeter and Core dated about 455 (No. 18) and a fragment of the Erechtheum accounts (No. 19) mentioned below. Schweigert gives¹⁰² us a record of two hitherto unknown golden Nikai from accounts dated about 430–25 (No. 27)¹⁰³ and part of a document issued by the Treasurers of Athena in 411–0 or in 407–6 (No. 29). R. S. Young examines¹⁰⁴ the contents of a seventh-century well in the Agora, which include seven early dipinti and graffiti on vases and other clay objects, all datable about 700 B.C. or later, and S. Young discusses¹⁰⁵ a clepsydra of the fifth century bearing the name of the tribe Antiochis and a note of the content, two choes (XX).

The new inscriptions of this period discovered on the N. slope of the Acropolis include the signatures of Sotes and Paederos, potter and painter, written *boustrophedon* on a plate

⁹² *Hesperia*, Suppl. ii. 225 ff.

⁹³ *AJA* xlii. 456 ff.

⁹⁴ *Hesperia*, viii. 205 ff., 214 ff., 223 f., 245 f.; *AJA* xliii. 302 f.

⁹⁵ *Hesperia*, ix. 266 f., 306 f., *AJA* xliii. 577.

⁹⁶ *Hesperia*, viii. 205 f., ix. 266; cf. *BCH* lxii. 452, *AA* 1938, 549.

⁹⁷ *AJA* xliii. 303, *Hesperia*, viii. 246; cf. *BCH* lxii. 453, *AA* 1938, 550.

⁹⁸ *Hesperia*, viii. 48 ff.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 62 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 303. This view is rejected by G. Welter (see footnotes 148, 150).

¹⁰⁰ *Hesperia*, ix. 53 ff.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 97 ff.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 309 ff.

¹⁰³ Cf. D. B. and H. A. Thompson, *AJA* xliv. 109 f.

¹⁰⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. ii. 22, 121 ff., 151 ff., 181 f., esp. 225 ff.

¹⁰⁵ *Hesperia*, viii. 274 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliv. 123.

discussed by O. Broneer¹⁰⁶ and by C. Roebuck,¹⁰⁷ who also deals¹⁰⁸ with a large number of painted and incised texts on vases, most of them signatures, καλός-inscriptions and dedications; among them is an ostrakon¹⁰⁹ given against the elder Alcibiades. R. S. Young's account of the 1939 excavations on the summit of Mount Hymettus contains¹¹⁰ a fragment of an archaic inscription on a limestone block and reports the discovery of ninety-eight sherds bearing dedicatory or other inscriptions of the seventh century, of which twelve are here published, affording interesting evidence for the history of the Greek script.

In an important article¹¹¹ on archaic Athenian dedications S. Lauffer makes some general remarks on 'technical epigraphy' in relation to early Attic votives, which he classifies according to date and material, and proceeds to discuss, correct or restore many marble-inscriptions of 550-480 B.C. published in *IG* i.² or in *L*(olling's Κατάλογος); he separates the two fragments of 688, unites 501a, d + 616a, 511 + 517, 633 + 737²⁹⁰ + L332, 636 + 737²⁷², 675 + L291, 679 + two new fragments, 707 + 737³⁰³, 737²⁹⁵ + L335 and a new fragment, and L329 + L330, corrects or restores 568, 577, 597 and 670, comments on 639, examines the signatures of Euthymus, Gorgias, Pollias and Pythis (§§ 12, 14, 17, 18) and offers useful observations on inscriptions written vertically (§ 10), on small bases supporting bronze statuettes (§ 11) and on different writing engraved by the same hand on the same stone (§ 18). We should have welcomed an index of the inscriptions treated in this long and fruitful research. A. E. Raubitschek's full and instructive article¹¹² on the technique and form of early Athenian statue-bases contains no discussion of their inscriptions, but many of his illustrations depict inscribed stones; he also devotes a special study¹¹³ to the victor-statues erected at Athens in the fifth century and draws up an annotated list of eight inscriptions (*IG* i.² 531, 534, 606, 607, 608 + 714, 655, 829, ii² 3123) presumably belonging to dedications of victors in the horse-race, chariot-race or gymnastic contests. S. Luria's article (in Russian, but with German summary)¹¹⁴ on the earliest Attic inscriptions is inaccessible to me.

M. Giffler deals¹¹⁵ with the introduction, variously dated by previous scholars, of the 'conciliar year' at Athens, and, rejecting two views successively held by Meritt, agrees with Dinsmoor in placing it in 432 and assigning it to the influence of Meton's work. W. K. Pritchett marshals and examines¹¹⁶ the evidence, literary and epigraphical, against the theory of H. B. Mayor¹¹⁷ that Athenian στρατηγοί entered office soon after their election and before the beginning of campaigning operations. Of outstanding interest is the masterly work¹¹⁸ in which B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor provide a definitive edition of the Attic tribute quota-lists. Chapters I-III give a catalogue and bibliography of the 285 fragments of these lists which have so far come to light, V and VI contain restored texts and commentaries, VII and VIII comprise the records supplied by the documents under review for the payments of 343 communities from 454 to 409 B.C., together with supplementary lists, IX contains notes and discussions, historical and topographical, on the local and ethnic names which occur, X lists the known Hellenotamiai with their secretaries and assessors, and XI consists of 161 'testimonia' bearing on the Delian League, eleven of which (T68-78) are epigraphical. Chapters IV-VI also contain catalogues of the surviving fragments of the three extant re-assessment records (*IG* i.² 63, 64 and a recent find) and of nine decrees (*IG* i.² 57, 65, 66, 91, 92 and 109) relative to the tribute-question, together with restored texts, bibliographies and some commentary; the decree enforcing uniformity of coinage, weights and measures throughout the Empire is included among the 'testimonia' (T69). Elsewhere in this *Journal*¹¹⁹ I have expressed my admiration of the wonderful

¹⁰⁶ *AJA* xlii. 447; cf. *BCH* lxii. 450 ff., *AA* 1938, 546.

¹⁰⁷ *Hesperia*, ix. 225 f.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 146 ff., esp. 247 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 247 f.

¹¹⁰ *AJA* xlii. 1 ff.; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. ii. 227 f.

¹¹¹ *AM* lxii. 82 ff.; cf. *Epigraphica*, i. 212.

¹¹² *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xii. 132 ff.

¹¹³ *Hesperia*, viii. 155 ff.

¹¹⁴ * *Vspom. istor. disc.* 1937, 67 ff.

¹¹⁵ *AJPh* lx. 436 ff.

¹¹⁶ *AJPh* lxi. 469 ff.

¹¹⁷ *JHS* lix. 45 ff.

¹¹⁸ *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I (Harvard U.P., 1939); cf. *REG* lii. 458 f., *GGA* cci. 409 ff., *Hermathena*, liv. 166 ff., *AJPh* lxi. 379 ff.

¹¹⁹ *JHS* lix. 300 f.

achievement of the authors of this volume, and I content myself therefore with repeating a single sentence from my review: 'No group of epigraphical texts has deserved or received a study so meticulous as the Attic quota-lists, and none has yielded results of equal historical importance.' Elsewhere Meritt publishes¹²⁰ notes on four Carian members of the Empire—Alinda, Bolbae, Oula, and Thydonos.

In addition to the inscriptions in *IG* i.² mentioned above, the following have been restored, corrected, supplemented or discussed.

40, 41. F. Hampl rejects¹²¹ the interpretations of the Hestiaeian decrees given by F. von Hiller and M. Cary, and, retaining the former's text, essays a new explanation of it.

47. Meritt adds¹²² a fresh fragment to this decree of 406 honouring the Carthaginian generals Hannibal and Himilco.

53. E. Schweigert restores¹²³ by the aid of 87, the treaty concluded in 433-2 B.C. between Athens and Philip of Macedon.

63, 76. In his article on 'Amendments in Attic Decrees,' A. Billheimer examines and criticises¹²⁴ the conclusions of R. Laqueur regarding these decrees.

65. A. E. Raubitschek identifies¹²⁵ a new fragment of this tribute-decree, giving a revised restoration of ll. 59, 60.

66. He dates¹²⁶ this tribute-decree, mainly on epigraphical grounds, between 448 and 445 B.C. G. P. Stevens has discovered,¹²⁷ but not yet published, a substantial addition to the decree.

76. See 63.

144, 155. B. D. Meritt unites¹²⁸ these portions of a proxeny-decree for a Cnidian, adds a new fragment from the Agora and re-edits the whole.

191 ff. I refer above to the great work of Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor on the quota-lists. This incorporates four new fragments recently brought to light in the Agora and published¹²⁹ by Meritt. A. W. Gomme calls in question¹³⁰ Wade-Gery's view, accepted in that work, that 449-8 B.C. is the year missing from the *lapis primus* and that no tribute was then collected; if any year is missing, which he regards as doubtful, it may have been 447-6, and its absence from the lists may be due to the discontinuance of the ἀπαρχαί, not of the tribute, in the year in question. He also rejects¹³¹ the interpretation of the rubric πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι propounded¹³² by E. B. Couch and accepted by the authors of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* (pp. 455 f.). In a long article¹³³ on the history of the Athenian συμμοχία, H. Schaefer criticises, mainly with reference to Nesselhauf's *Untersuchungen*, the current interpretation of the Aristidean φόρος as a fixed 'normal sum,' varied in the case of individual cities for political reasons of reward or punishment, and seeks to prove that the variations are 'an expression of the changes to which the two sources which fed the φόρος, the agricultural land and, in a far higher degree, the πρόσοδοι, were subject.' He also rejects Nesselhauf's view of the fundamental change in the συμμοχία which accompanied the Peace of Callias, examining in detail its division into districts (pp. 243 ff.) and rejecting Segre's assignment of the 'coinage-decree' to a date about 448 (pp. 253 ff.).

255. In connexion with his study of the Hellenotamiai, M. Giffler re-edits¹³⁴ the last *traditio* of the Pronoas published by the Treasurers of Athena.

325, 326. Meritt publishes¹³⁵ six fragments of a stele bearing sale-lists of property confiscated for impiety in 414-3, adding two fragments from the Agora to the four already

¹²⁰ *Anatolian Studies presented to W. H. Buckler*, 187 ff.; cf. L. Robert, *Études épigr. et philol.* 242 ff.

¹²¹ *Hermes*, lxxiii. 474 ff.

¹²² *AJA* xlv. 110.

¹²³ *Hesperia*, viii. 170 f.

¹²⁴ *AJA* xlii. 464 ff., 471 ff.

¹²⁵ *AJPh* lxi. 475 ff.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 477 ff.

¹²⁷ *AJA* xliii. 132.

¹²⁸ *Hesperia*, viii. 65 ff.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 51 ff.

¹³⁰ *ClRev* liv. 65 ff.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 67 ff.; cf. *Hermes*, lxxiv. 241.

¹³² *AJA* xxxiii. 502 ff.

¹³³ *Hermes*, lxxiv. 225 ff.; cf. *Gnomon*, xv. 517 ff.

¹³⁴ *RhMus* lxxxix. 64 ff.

¹³⁵ *Hesperia*, viii. 69 ff.

known. J. Hatzfeld identifies ¹³⁶ the Phaedrus of this document (l. 63) with the eponymous hero of the Platonic dialogue and so finds an explanation of his poverty (Lysias, xix. 15).

363, 365, 366. Dinsmoor restores ¹³⁷ ll. 15-17 of the Propylaea-account 363. M. Giffler finds ¹³⁸ in the phraseology of 365-6 confirmation of his theory of the distinction between 'fighting' and 'financial' Hellenotamiai.

369. Schweigert uses ¹³⁹ a newly discovered account of a golden Nike to establish the reading and restoration of this earlier record.

372, 374. W. K. Pritchett adds ¹⁴⁰ a new fragment to the Erechtheum-account for 408-7 (374. 326 ff.), and P. H. Davis examines ¹⁴¹ the coffering of that temple in the light of 372. M. Giffler maintains ¹⁴² that ii.² 1655 records work done on the Erechtheum in 406-5 and 1654 its continuation in the first two prytanies of 405-4, after which the defeat at Aegospotami interrupted further work.

394I. To the epigram commemorating the Athenian victories of 506 B.C. Raubitschek assigns ¹⁴³ a further fragment.

400. He also comments ¹⁴⁴ on the Pronapes of this dedication of the Athenian Knights and corrects ¹⁴⁵ the restoration of 803.

469. P. de La Coste-Messelière challenges ¹⁴⁶ the restoration [P]όνβος as dedicator of the *moschophoros*, and suggests [ὁ δεινὰ; ἡκατ]όν βός; ἀνέθεκεν.

609. Raubitschek brilliantly reconstructs ¹⁴⁷ the dedication and memorial of Callimachus, erected on the Acropolis soon after the battle of Marathon, showing that the Ionic column was surmounted by a statue not of Hermes but of Nike.

761. The altar of the younger Peisistratus, whose inscription Thucydides quotes (vi. 54-7), is discussed ¹⁴⁸ by G. Welter, who thinks that the historian's description of its letters as ἀμυδρά refers to their shallow cutting in the Ionian style, ¹⁴⁹ and dates Peisistratus' archonship, which it commemorates, in 512-11 B.C. ¹⁵⁰

763. Raubitschek re-examines ¹⁵¹ the 'Marathon epigrams,' of which he accepts Wilhelm's restoration; he argues that the first commemorates the 192 Athenians who fell at Marathon, the second those who died at Phalerum repelling an attempted Persian landing, and that the names were engraved on two stelae set side by side on the inscribed base.

803. See 400.

864. The ὁρός ἡλίκης, rediscovered in the Agora, is dated ¹⁵² by Meritt *ca.* 400 B.C.

Raubitschek further claims ¹⁵³ that Leagros' dedication to the Twelve Gods (cf. *JHS* lvii. 169) was probably a victor-statue commemorating a victory he had won at the Panathenaea or one of the Panhellenic Games, and proposes ¹⁵⁴ to restore two fragments (Lolling, *Κατάλογος*, 307) [Ἀθηναῖοι; ἀν]έθε[σαν]; ἐκ τ[ὸν; Μεδικὸν] and to see herein the dedicatory inscription of Pheidias' Athena Promachos. A. Cameron subjects ¹⁵⁵ the 'Coronea epigram' (cf. *JHS* lvii. 170, lix. 251) to a close scrutiny, 'with a view to elucidating the religious ideas underlying it and to determining, if possible, its relation to the event which it records'; he rejects the hypothesis of ambiguous response and real epiphany, and regards the poem as 'a post eventum religious interpretation of the defeat,' 'a historical document reflecting Periclean policy.'

[IG ii.²] After 403 B.C.—The excavation of the Agora has brought to light a large number of new inscriptions, as well as fresh fragments, mentioned below, of texts previously known.

¹³⁶ *REA* xli. 313 ff.; cf. *Hesperia*, viii. 76.

¹³⁷ *Athenian Tribute Lists* (see note 118), 187, 580.

¹³⁸ *RhMus* lxxxix. 62 ff.

¹³⁹ *Hesperia*, ix. 311.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 102 ff.

¹⁴¹ *AJA* xliii. 303 f.

¹⁴² *RhMus* lxxxix. 64 f.

¹⁴³ *Hesperia*, viii. 158 note 3.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 159 f.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 155 note 2.

¹⁴⁶ *RA* xiii. 282; cf. *REG* lii. 459.

¹⁴⁷ *AJA* xliv. 53 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 302, *JHS* lviii. 217, lix. 251, *Die Antike*, xv. 168 ff., *AA* 1938, 551.

¹⁴⁸ * *AA* 1939, 23 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliv. 125.

¹⁴⁹ So also S. Lauffer, *AM* lxii. 110.

¹⁵⁰ So *AJA* xliv. 125, my sole authority. Should it not be 522-1 B.C.?

¹⁵¹ *AJA* xliv. 56 ff.

¹⁵² *Hesperia*, viii. 77 ff.

¹⁵³ *Hesperia*, viii. 160 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 459.

¹⁵⁴ *AJA* xliv. 109.

¹⁵⁵ *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxiii. 97 ff.

Among them are a boundary-stone¹⁵⁶ of the early fourth century, standing *in situ* and inscribed *hópos Kεραμεικῶ*, a series of official leaden weights,¹⁵⁷ some of which date from the same century, an altar inscribed [*Δι*]ὸς Φρατρίου, Ἀθηνῶς Φρα[τρίας], unearthed,¹⁵⁸ together with five grave-columellae, by N. Kyparisses and H. A. Thompson in a newly discovered sanctuary, and a group of masons' marks from the temple of Ares, edited¹⁵⁹ by W. B. Dinsmoor. Other epigraphical finds are briefly indicated in T. L. Shear's reports,¹⁶⁰ among them a Hellenistic roof-tile bearing the name of Hephaestus and a t.c. plaque sealed by a περιπόλαρχος. Many important texts are published for the first time by Meritt, Schweigert and Pritchett with their wonted skill and learning, and the addition of indexes to their principal articles greatly enhances their value. To Meritt we owe¹⁶¹ an inscription of ca. A.D. 100 erected posthumously in honour of a Pergamene, four fourth-century texts,¹⁶² viz. a list of citizens, perhaps prytaneis, of the tribe Hippothontis (No. 5), a list of φύλαρχοι (No. 6), a dedication to Athena Ergane (No. 7) and numerous fragments of an interesting ephobic inscription of 333-2 (No. 8), and five third-century documents, viz. a dedication of ἐπίλεκτοι of the tribe Demetrias, important as assigning to this tribe the deme Daedalidae (No. 10), part of an ephobe-list of the same tribe, which attributes to it the deme Porus (No. 12), and three fragments of decrees (Nos. 11, 14, 15), as well as a mutilated decree of ca. 200 B.C. (No. 16). Pritchett edits¹⁶³ a decree honouring the taxiarchs of 302-1 (No. 20), an early third-century tribal decree for a victor in the ἀνθιππασία (No. 21), two second-century prytany-decrees honouring Hippothontis (Nos. 24, 25) and three fragments of a similar decree dated 135-4 (No. 26), which fixes the archon's name for that year and enables¹⁶⁴ us to restore ii.² 887, 997. 2 and *Inscriptions de Délos*, 2566: Pritchett adds (pp. 130 ff.) a new archon-table for 147-6 to 129-8 B.C. Even richer is Schweigert's contribution. In one article¹⁶⁵ he publishes a dedication made in 373-2 by Thrasybulus of Collytus as general and eight tribal representatives (No. 2), a valuable decree of 367-6 relative to a breach of the mystery-truce of the Eleusinian goddesses, which the Aetolian League had accepted (No. 3), a decree of 356 in praise of the people of Elaeus, which had been loyal to Athens in the Social War (No. 4), five fragments of the navy-list of 357-6, another copy of ii.² 1611, supplementing K. Schmidt's list¹⁶⁶ of Attic war-ships (No. 5), a proxeny-decree of 331 for an Abderite (No. 6), twelve fragments of an alliance of 303-2 between Athens and Sicyon (No. 9), part of the prescript of a decree of 287 (No. 10), making possible the restoration of the prescript of ii.² 651, passed on the same day, an early third-century decree of the Council honouring Aristomenes of Paeania (No. 11) engraved on the same stele which bore a decree of the δῆμος for the same man (ii.² 691), and two fragments of a decree of ca. 229 B.C. (No. 12). Elsewhere he edits¹⁶⁷ sixteen new texts, including eleven fragments of a statue-base, probably that on which stood the bronze statue of Chabrias erected in the Agora after the battle of Naxos (No. 31), two fragments of a decree of 336 relative to Lemnos, moved by the orator Demades (No. 35), which demands a new restoration of ii.² 239, 6, 7, passed on the same day, a record of the one-per-cent. sales-tax dating ca. 330, which attests the existence in Attica of a guild of Διπολιστοί (No. 38), a decree of thanks to a Heracleote for aid rendered in the great famine (No. 39), another, important for the restoration of the calendar, granting citizenship in 319 to Aenetus of Rhodes (No. 44), yet another, passed in 302, for Adcimantus of Lampsacus (No. 45), a leading supporter of Demetrius, which 'throws interesting light on the internal workings and politics of the League of Demetrius,' which is mentioned in ll. 8, 12, and proves that ii.² 806, 809 and *Hesperia*, viii. 44 f. must be dated ca. 300 B.C., a decree of 287-78 B.C. enfranchising Philocles, King of Sidon and admiral of Ptolemy, to whom he

¹⁵⁶ T. L. Shear, *AJA* xliii. 577, *Hesperia*, ix. 267; cf. *AJA* xliii. 340.

¹⁵⁷ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, ix. 307.

¹⁵⁸ *Hesperia*, vii. 612 ff.

¹⁵⁹ *Hesperia*, ix. 2, 15 ff., 29 ff., 38 ff.

¹⁶⁰ *Hesperia*, viii. 207 f., 214 ff., 223 f.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 81 f.

¹⁶² *Hesperia*, ix. 56 ff.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 104 ff.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 129, 132 f.

¹⁶⁵ *Hesperia*, viii. 1 ff.

¹⁶⁶ *Die Namen der att. Kriegsschiffe*, 1931.

¹⁶⁷ *Hesperia*, ix. 313 ff.

had handed over the fleet of Demetrius (No. 48). Of the remainder seven are fragments of decrees (Nos. 30, 36, 40 f., 46 f., 49), one is the prescript of a record of the Treasurers of Athena (No. 34) and one a dedication of 191-0 B.C. (No. 50). A fragmentary relief dedicated by a χορηγός successful in the Great Panathenaea has been added ¹⁶⁸ to the National Museum at Athens.

A. Billheimer examines ¹⁶⁹ a large number of decrees to test the conclusions of R. Laqueur ¹⁷⁰ regarding the composition and amendment of decrees, first dealing with cases (*IG* ii.² 17, 19, 43, etc.) in which Laqueur appeals to the relative positions of the constituent motions and then with those (ii.² 24, 31, 111, etc.) in which arguments are drawn from the context or from external sources to show the incorporation of amendments. E. Weston calls ¹⁷¹ attention to the many Attic inscriptions in Ionic letters which may be confidently assigned, on the ground of contents or formulae, to the fifth century, and herself dates ii.² 71 (rediscovered in the Agora) + 38 to 426-5 B.C., ii.² 174 to about 412 B.C., as suggested by Wilhelm, and ii.² 73 (of ll. 2-6 of which a new restoration is offered) to the fifth century. The problem of the composition of the tribes later added to the ten founded by Cleisthenes is again attacked by W. K. Pritchett, who reviews ¹⁷² the constitution of Antigonis and Demetrias, created in 307-6, in the light of recent finds from the Agora, and draws up a list of their component demes, while W. B. Dinsmoor dates ¹⁷³ the institution of the tribe Ptolemais in 226-5, argues that 221 B.C. witnessed a change in the sortition-cycles, and tabulates the tribal affiliations of the boards of archons listed in ii.² 1706 (229-8 to 213-2 B.C.), based upon the observance of three laws discovered respectively by Sauppe, Beloch and Ferguson; he further claims that ii.² 1706 confirms the dating of Diomedon in 246-5 B.C. and the arrangement now offered of the secretary-cycles before the close of the Chremonidean War. The same scholar has also returned in an impressive volume ¹⁷⁴ to the examination of the chronological problems of Hellenistic Athens, to which he made so notable a contribution eight years previously in his *Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*.¹⁷⁵ 'The new material,' he writes (p. vii), 'accumulated through eight seasons of the Agora excavations is so vast, and the welter of conflicting opinion is so provocative, that I am once more induced to undertake a synthesis of the whole situation.' After an introduction (pp. 3 ff.) dealing with the Athenian theory of tribal rotation and sortition-cycles, he examines with characteristic thoroughness the evidence for the archons of the third and second centuries B.C. and for the priests of Asclepius (pp. 92 ff.), and appends a long series of notes on the Attic calendar (pp. 205 ff.); he also reviews anew the much discussed problem of the archonship of Polyeuctus (which he dates in 248-7) and the Delphian Soteria (pp. 109 ff.), gives a valuable dated table of important chronometrical, political and cultural events from 566 to 109 B.C., summarises his conclusions about the archons, secretaries and priests of Asclepius from 307 to 101 B.C. (pp. 20 ff.), and adds an index of inscriptions cited, occupying six pages and indicating the use of many still unpublished texts from the Agora, as well as indexes of persons and of subjects (pp. 255 ff.). No less important is the work by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt on *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*,¹⁷⁶ which traverses the same ground; it is 'essentially a book for specialists, who will want to control the arguments here advanced by reference to the original source material' (p. vi), though the perfection of its typography and illustration makes it a pleasure even for the layman to handle. It too presents its conclusions in tabular form (pp. xiv ff.), with the addition of full bibliographical references to ancient sources, almost entirely epigraphical, and to modern discussions. In successive chapters it deals with (i) the tribal cycles introduced in 307-6 B.C., after the fall of Demetrius of Phalerum, (ii) the controlling cycles, which for the priests of Asclepius are claimed to be

¹⁶⁸ *AA* 1938, 542.

¹⁶⁹ *AJA* xlii. 456 ff.

¹⁷⁰ *Epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Volksbeschlüssen*, 1927.

¹⁷¹ *AJPh* lxi. 345 ff.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 186 ff.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 460 ff.

¹⁷⁴ *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of recent Discoveries*, Columbia U.P., 1939; cf. *Hermathena*, lvi. 186 f.

¹⁷⁵ See *JHS* liii. 227 f.

¹⁷⁶ Harvard U.P., 1940.

in every instance those of the secretaries of the Council, (iii) the inventories and (iv) priests of Asclepius, (v) the third-century archons, secretaries and priests, who constitute the main subject of inquiry, and (vi) those of the second century, for whom a considerable amount of new evidence is here first presented. The volume closes with indexes of personal names and of inscriptions cited; the fresh readings or restorations offered are indicated by asterisks in the final index, showing that in *IG* ii.² alone no fewer than forty texts are thus improved, while fourteen new inscriptions from the Agora receive here their *editio princeps*. A comparison of the chronological tables of Dinsmoor and of Pritchett and Meritt shows that, though numerous minor divergencies still subsist, immense progress has been made, thanks to the accession of fresh epigraphical evidence, in unravelling the knotty problems of Attic chronology of the third and second centuries B.C.

In a posthumously published paper,¹⁷⁷ P. Graindor inquired into the name borne by the University of Athens in the Imperial period, challenging Oliver's view¹⁷⁸ that it was called Μουσείον and suggesting the title 'Αθήναιον. S. Dow in an article¹⁷⁹ on 'Aristotle, the Klerotera and the Courts' continues his study of the nature and operation of the Greek allotment-machine on the basis of literature, inscriptions and the surviving κληρωτήρια.

In addition to the inscriptions in *IG* ii.² already mentioned, the following attracted special attention in the period under review; incomplete though it is, the list bears eloquent testimony to the advances made in the study of Attic epigraphical records.

14. To the Boeotian-Athenian alliance of 395 B.C. E. Schweigert adds¹⁸⁰ a new fragment.

43. He also shows¹⁸¹ that ll. 93-6 of the foundation-decree of the second Athenian Empire are separately published as ii.² 883.

44. He points out¹⁸² that ii.² 155, of which he gives a new reading and restoration, is a duplicate of this treaty of 378-7 between Athens and Chalcis.

98. He further adds¹⁸³ a fresh fragment to this pact between Athens and Cephallenia, of which he gives a new restoration, dating it to 373-2.

105. He shows¹⁸⁴ that ii.² 523 belongs to the close of this treaty between Athens and Dionysius of Syracuse.

155. See 44.

159. Meritt gives¹⁸⁵ a revised text of this decree-heading.

219. Schweigert re-edits¹⁸⁶ this decree of 344 B.C., perhaps honouring Elaeus.

276. He restores¹⁸⁷ the prescript of this grant of ἱσοτέλεια, which he dates in 336 B.C.

285. See 369.

289. Schweigert shows¹⁸⁸ that this fragment and 372 belong to the same decree of 321 B.C., which he restores.

335. He also completes¹⁸⁹ the text of this decree, moved in 333 by Demades, and adds to it a fragment¹⁹⁰ found by Broneer: see also 369.

343. He re-reads and restores¹⁹¹ the earlier part of the decree of 323-2 B.C. in honour of Apollonides of Sidon.

350. He dates¹⁹² this honorary decree in 317 B.C. and restores ll. 1-16.

369. Schweigert unites¹⁹³ this fragment with 414 *b*, *c* and eight others found in the Agora to form a decree of 322 B.C. honouring those who by gifts of grain or in other ways had alleviated the needs of Athens in the crisis of the Lamian War. He maintains that 414*d* is part of 285 and that 414*a* is wholly independent; this last text he restores¹⁹⁴ by the

¹⁷⁷ *Rev. Belge*, xvii. 207 ff.

¹⁷⁸ *Hesperia*, iii. 191 ff.

¹⁷⁹ *Harvard Studies*, I. 1 ff.

¹⁸⁰ *Hesperia*, viii. 1 ff.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* 171 f.

¹⁸² *Hesperia*, vii. 626.

¹⁸³ *Hesperia*, ix. 321 ff.

¹⁸⁴ *Hesperia*, vii. 627.

¹⁸⁵ *Hesperia*, ix. 65.

¹⁸⁶ *Hesperia*, viii. 172 f.

¹⁸⁷ *Hesperia*, ix. 342.

¹⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, viii. 173 ff.

¹⁸⁹ *Hesperia*, ix. 339 f.

¹⁹⁰ *Hesperia*, iv. 169 f.

¹⁹¹ *Hesperia*, ix. 342 f.

¹⁹² *Hesperia*, viii. 32 ff.

¹⁹³ *Hesperia*, viii. 27 ff., ix. 335 ff.

¹⁹⁴ *Hesperia*, ix. 339 ff.

aid of 335 and 405, which belong to the same year and were apparently engraved by the same hand.

372. See 289.

379. W. K. Pritchett alters ¹⁹⁵ the restoration of l. 3 of this honorary decree.

404. Schweigert restores ¹⁹⁶ ll. 6-7 of this decree concerning the cities of Ceos.

405. He revises and restores ¹⁹⁷ the prescript of this decree moved by Demades in 333.

414. See 369.

456, 470. These decrees in honour of Colophon, passed in 307 and 305, are examined ¹⁹⁸ by A. Wilhelm, who proposes new restorations in both.

463. An important addition to this decree of 307-6, regarding the repair of the walls of Athens and Peiraeus, and to the subjoined specification is made ¹⁹⁹ by Meritt, who re-edits ll. 100 ff.

482. Schweigert restores ²⁰⁰ ll. 9-12 of this decree of 304 B.C. relative to a committee chosen to supervise the repair of the Athena Parthenos.

523. See 105.

535. With this fragment Schweigert associates ²⁰¹ two more from the Agora, belonging to an honorary decree of 317 B.C.

562. He restores ²⁰² this decree of 301 B.C. for a friend of Antigonos and Demetrius.

643. He has identified and Meritt publishes ²⁰³ the prescript of a decree of 297 B.C. granting citizenship to Aristolas and Sostratus.

883. See 43.

887. Pritchett restores ²⁰⁴ the prescript of a decree of 135-4 B.C. by the aid of a new discovery from the Agora.

917. He also adds ²⁰⁵ two fragments to this decree of 222 B.C. for the prytanies of the Acamantid tribe, recently republished by Dow, ²⁰⁶ and gives a revised text of ll. 18 ff.

966. A. Wilhelm discusses and restores ²⁰⁷ this decree, dating it 241-197 B.C.

977. Pritchett restores ²⁰⁸ l. 2 of this prytany-decree.

1034, 1036, 1942, 1943. P. L. MacKendrick examines ²⁰⁹ these inscriptions in his study of the ἐργαστήρια and the Attic γένη.

1096 (= SEG iii. 108). Meritt adds ²¹⁰ the prescript, unearthed in the Agora, of this correspondence between the γένος of the Gephyraei and the Delphians relative to a consultation of the oracle, dates it about 37-6 B.C., and discusses several other texts (SEG iii. 667, 745, *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1624 bis, 2516-8) referring to the Gephyraean envoys.

1097. J. H. Oliver unites and re-edits ²¹¹ an inscription relating to the Directorship of the Epicurean School at Athens, of which 1097 and SEG iii. 226 are parts.

1194, 1274. J. C. Threpsiades unites ²¹² these two texts with a newly discovered fragment of a decree of the Eleusinians passed ca. 300 B.C. in honour of an ex-demarch for services and gifts.

1370 + 1371 + 1384 (cf. *Εφημ* 1937, 164). Schweigert restores ²¹³ l. 13 of this *traditio*.

1381 + 1386 (cf. *JHS* lviii. 73). He adds ²¹⁴ a new fragment, relating to a golden Nike, to this *traditio* of the Hekatompedon for 401-0 B.C.

1421. He also assigns ²¹⁵ a new, non-contiguous fragment to col. i of this inventory.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 112.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 322.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 340.

¹⁹⁸ *Anatolian Studies* (see note 434), 345 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *Hesperia*, ix. 66 ff., 323 note 7.

²⁰⁰ *Hesperia*, viii. 175 f.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* 30 ff.

²⁰² *Hesperia*, ix. 341 f.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* 80 ff.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 132 f.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 115 ff.

²⁰⁶ *Prytaneis*, 76 f.

²⁰⁷ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 119 ff.

²⁰⁸ *Hesperia*, ix. 129; cf. S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, 155 f., *AJPh* ix. 260.

²⁰⁹ *ProcAPA* lxx. xxxix f.

²¹⁰ *Hesperia*, viii. 80 f., ix. 86 ff.

²¹¹ *TransAPA* lxix. 494 ff.

²¹² *Hesperia*, viii. 177 ff.

²¹³ *Hesperia*, ix. 311.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* 310 f.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* 320 f.

1496. With this record of the Treasurers of Athena for 331-0 he unites ²¹⁶ an opisthographic fragment.

1609, 1952. He claims ²¹⁷ 1952 as part of a list of Athenian cleruchs sent to Samos in 365-4 and 1609 as being of the same date and relating to the same cleruchy.

1611. He regards ²¹⁸ five fragments from the Agora as belonging to a second copy of the navy-list for 357-6.

1628. He ascribes ²¹⁹ to the navy-list for 326-5 a considerable new fragment, which adds forty-four lines at the foot of col. *b*.

1633-49. J. Coupry annotates, ²²⁰ corrects and restores the series of administrative documents published by the Athenian Amphictyones of Delos, showing that 1640 and 1643 belong to the same stele, as do also 1648 and 1649.

1654, 1655. See above (p. 59) under *IG* i.² 372.

1705. Schweigert adds ²²¹ a new fragment to this list of officials.

1706. W. B. Dinsmoor tabulates ²²² anew the tribal affiliations of the boards of archons (229-8 to 213-2 B.C.) here listed, in order to clarify the Athenian system of rotation.

1942, 1943. See 1034.

1952. See 1609.

2413, 2437. W. K. Pritchett's study of the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias pays special attention ²²³ to these two lists of demesmen.

2434. He assigns ²²⁴ a new fragment of a prytany-list of Leontis to the same stele as 2434, republished, with an addition from the Agora, by S. Dow (*Prytaneis*, 57 ff.).

2437. See 2413.

2581a. Meritt announces ²²⁵ the rediscovery of this grave-boundary.

2798, 2949. G. Welter re-examines ²²⁶ these sculptured and inscribed altars.

2953. Dinsmoor comments ²²⁷ on this Acharnian dedication to Ares and Augustus.

3090-3, 3096-7, 3101, 3104, 3106, 3108. G. V. Vitucci's study of the dramatic performances at the country Dionysia discusses ²²⁸ these records; 3091 forms the starting-point of A. Szantyr's attempt ²²⁹ to determine the character and composition of the Sophoclean *Telephea*.

3123. A. E. Raubitschek deals ²³⁰ with the dedicator of this votive.

3177, 5055. Meritt studies ²³¹ this dedication and this inscription on a theatre-seat in connexion with his inquiry into the relation between Buzygae and Gephyraei.

3631, 3796, etc. P. L. Maas and J. H. Oliver re-edit, ²³² with the aid of a new fragment, an interesting philosophical poem, couched in the Dorian dialect but with a few epic forms, dealing with a physician's duties; it was engraved on the front of the votive monument of Sarapion, erected about A.D. 220 in the Athenian Asclepieum and reconstructed ²³³ from numerous fragments by Oliver.

4329. Meritt restores ²³⁴ this dedication to Athena Ergane on the basis of a new votive.

4589. A. Greifenhagen's article on the Bona Dea discusses ²³⁵ this dedication 'Ἀγαθὴ θεῶν.

4817. A. Salač's comments ²³⁶ on Artemis Kolainis and the Κολαινιστῶν deal especially with this dedication, recently re-edited ²³⁷ by J. Kirchner and S. Dow.

4997. A. Wilhelm discusses and restores ²³⁸ this oracle.

5055. See 3177.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* 328 ff.

²¹⁷ *AJPh* lxi. 194 ff.

²¹⁸ *Hesperia*, viii. 17 ff.

²¹⁹ *Hesperia*, ix. 343 ff.

²²⁰ *BCH* lxii. 236 ff.

²²¹ *Hesperia*, viii. 45 ff.

²²² *AJPh* lxi. 460 ff.

²²³ *Ibid.* 186 f.

²²⁴ *Hesperia*, ix. 112 ff.

²²⁵ *Hesperia*, viii. 79.

²²⁶ * *AA* 1939, 23 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlv. 125.

²²⁷ *Hesperia*, ix. 49; cf. L. Robert, *Études épigr. et philol.*

294 f.

²²⁸ *Dioniso*, vii. 210 ff., 312 ff.

²²⁹ *Philol* xciii. 287 ff.

²³⁰ *Hesperia*, viii. 158 ff.

²³¹ *Hesperia*, ix. 95 f.

²³² *Bull. Hist. Med.* vii. 315 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 462.

²³³ *Hesperia*, v. 91 ff.

²³⁴ *Hesperia*, ix. 58 f.

²³⁵ *RM* lii. 238 f.

²³⁶ *Hlidka Arch.* xi. 398 ff.

²³⁷ *AM* lxii. 9 ff.

²³⁸ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 67 ff.

The following texts not found in *IG* ii.² also call for remark. *IG* iii. 1350, a tomb-epigram, is metrically examined²³⁹ by A. Wilhelm, as is^{239a} also another Attic epigram (*Mnemosyne*, iv. 13). D. W. Prakken writes²⁴⁰ ἡ μή instead of ἡ μή in ll. 40, 41, 42 of the alleged oath of the Athenians at Plataea, published²⁴¹ by L. Robert. E. Schweigert restores²⁴² Χολλείδης in l. 3 of the earliest extant prytany-decree (*AM* li. 157 f.) from *Hesperia*, vii. 291 f. (a decree of 338 B.C.), and Φαίδρος in the latter document from the former. M. A. Shangin's discussion²⁴³ of an Attic lead tablet I do not know.

III. THE PELOPONNESE.

[*IG* iv.] G. Welter publishes²⁴⁴ three archaic brick-stamps from AEGINA, together with two stone anchors inscribed Ἀφροδίτα ἐπιλιμενία and one (*IG* iv. 176) bearing the legend με κίνε τόδε, two inscribed omphaloi (one of them iv. 61) and some names and dates painted or engraved on chamber-tombs (including iv. 70, 92, 186). C. H. Morgan's report on the excavations at CORINTH in 1938 refers²⁴⁵ to epigraphical discoveries, one of which supplements *Corinth*, viii (1). 23. O. Broneer edits²⁴⁶ an official rescript from the same site, which throws valuable light on the municipal affairs of Roman Corinth; by it a governor of Achaia in the second century A.D. permits the sale of a site for the erection of a building with fifty rooms and regulates its use for the athletes who visit the games. The inscriptions found at Perachora are provisionally published in the impressive volume devoted to that site, with the exception of three archaic votives in retrograde or *boustrophedon* script, of which H. T. Wade-Gery gives²⁴⁷ a definitive edition, assigning them to the century from ca. 750 to ca. 650 B.C.

Ernst Meyer refers²⁴⁸ to the famous Asclepius-inscription from Titane, a little way south of Sicyon. C. W. Blegen discusses²⁴⁹ a spherical marble sun-dial bearing zodiacal names and the epigram

Ἡρης ἱεροπόλος με θεῆς ἀνέθηκε Θάλεια
ἡλιακῶν ὥρων ἀγγελον ἡμερίοις,

and two archaic inscribed sherds,²⁵⁰ one of which dates from the mid-seventh century, from the Argive Heraeum, about a mile from which has also been found the abacus of a column, now in the Argos Museum, bearing an archaic epitaph of two couplets commemorating a man who fell in battle, possibly at Sepea in 494 B.C., edited²⁵¹ by L. W. Daly. At Ligurio, near the Asclepieum of EPIDAUROS, R. L. Scranton found²⁵² a Cnidian amphora-handle, graffiti on fragments of a pithos, two roof-tiles and a late fourth-century epitaph. J. F. Crome bases an article²⁵³ dealing with the temple-sculptures upon the extant fourth-century building-accounts (iv.² 102), and A. Wilhelm restores and re-interprets²⁵⁴ one of the miracle-stories from the same sanctuary (iv.² 123. 21 ff.).

[*IG* v.] A. Wilhelm also discusses²⁵⁵ a metrical epitaph from Boeae in LACONIA (v. 1. 960). N. Valmin's report on the Swedish Archaeological Mission to MESSENIAN deals²⁵⁶ with the curious script from Malthi and with two dedications from the temple of Pamisus at Hagios Phloros; he further announces²⁵⁷ the discovery of a number of inscribed potsherds of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. near the village of Vasiliko. For the mystery-inscription of Andania (v. 1. 1390) the remarks²⁵⁸ of R. Flacelière and J. and L. Robert should be noted.

²³⁹ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 146 f.

^{239a} *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 83 ff.; cf. *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 145 f.

²⁴⁰ *AJP* lxi. 62 ff.

²⁴¹ *Études épigr. et philol.* 307 ff.

²⁴² *AJP* lxi. 358.

²⁴³ * *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, 1938, 101 ff.

²⁴⁴ *AA* 1938, 486 ff., 494 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 464.

²⁴⁵ *AJA* xliii. 265.

²⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, viii. 181 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 690, *REG* lii. 464.

²⁴⁷ H. Payne, *Perachora* (Oxford, 1940), 256 ff.; cf. 7 f., 66, 98, 111, 136, 180.

²⁴⁸ *Peloponnesische Wanderungen* (Zurich, 1939), 84.

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²⁴⁹ *AJA* xliii. 443 f.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 421, 425 f.

²⁵¹ *Hesperia*, viii. 165 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 464 f.

²⁵² *Hesperia*, vii. 535 ff.

²⁵³ *AA* 1938, 772 ff.

²⁵⁴ *Hermes*, lxxiv. 92 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 465.

²⁵⁵ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 59 f.

²⁵⁶ *The Swedish Messenia Expedition* (Lund, 1938), 389 ff., 423, 436 ff.

²⁵⁷ *Acta Instituti Regni Sueciae*, v. 66 ff.

²⁵⁸ *REG* lii. 465 ff.

G. M. A. Richter describes²⁵⁹ a bronze spear-butt of the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York, inscribed *ἑρὸς Τυνδαρίδαιος ἀπ' Ἑραίου*, and suggests Cleitor in ARCADIA as its provenance, while at Glanitsa in North Arcadia an archaic inscribed base has come to light.²⁶⁰ In the course of a journey through this part of Greece, Ernst Meyer found twelve unpublished inscriptions at Thelphusa, including an archaic text on a triglyph, a record of the repair of the Agora in honour of Trajan, and ten simple epitaphs.²⁶¹ W. Vollgraff discusses²⁶² the characteristics of the Arcadian dialect and a number of words and forms found in the 'judgement of Mantinea' (v. 2. 262), which he dates between 480 and 460 B.C.

[IG vi.] At Cerynea in ACHAEA E. Meyer found²⁶³ an inscribed tombstone. A bronze shield unearthed at OLYMPIA bears a legend²⁶⁴ indicating that it was part of the spoils taken by the Tanagraeans, and other finds from the same site are announced.²⁶⁵

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE.

[IG vii.] P. Friedländer comments²⁶⁶ on the language and the spirit of the epigram from MEGARA commemorating the Megarians who fell in the Persian War of 480 and 479 B.C. (vii. 53 = Tod, *GHI* 20), and L. Robert brilliantly demonstrates²⁶⁷ that vii. 188 and 189, found at Pegae, are parts of the same Megarian decree, of which he offers a revised reading and restoration, and discusses the arbitration between Pegae and Aegosthena to which it relates.

P. Teyssier discusses²⁶⁸ some points of Boeotian dialect, especially the forms *λείς*, *ῥώνγα*, *ξύλλειο*, *τάππάρματα* and *ἑλικών*, and Robert suggests²⁶⁹ Tanagra as the provenance of an interesting ephebic inscription (*AM* lix. 77 ff.), now in the Chalcis Museum, and shows²⁷⁰ that a dedication to Isis included by A. Dain among the unpublished inscriptions in the Louvre, and assigned by him to the district of Byzantium, comes in reality from Thebes and has long been known (vii. 2483). D'Arcy W. Thompson annotates²⁷¹ the alphabetic list of fish-names recently found at Thespieae (*BCH* lx. 28 f.), and A. von Blumenthal proposes²⁷² to read *ἐκποιοῦντα*[[5]] in l. 101 of the famous building-inscription of Lebadea (vii. 3073 = *SIG* 972).

[IG viii.] The sixth fascicule of the epigraphical volume of the *Fouilles de Delphes*,²⁷³ edited by N. Valmin, comprises the inscriptions of the Theatre, those, that is, which are engraved on stones of the Theatre still *in situ* as well as those on blocks discovered in the Theatre but transported to the Epigraphical Museum or elsewhere. They number 144 in all, of which 71 are here first fully published; a section on the chronological conclusions to be drawn from them, an index and a table of concordance are added. No fewer than 133 are manumission-records; the remainder include inscriptions on the theatre-seats (No. 1-3), a Delphian decree in honour of an Athenian (No. 4), the signature of a Thespian sculptor (No. 59), a Cnidian votive (No. 60), two honorary inscriptions (Nos. 96, 143), and the text, copied by Cyriac of Ancona but now lost, of a famous oracle recorded by Herodotus as given to Croesus (i. 47). J. Bousquet publishes²⁷⁴ a long and important article, in which he edits a number of proxeny-decrees ranging between 361 B.C. and the early third century (pp. 332 ff.), an epitaph of *Κεφαλλῆνες ἐκ Παλίων* (p. 334), a new name on a tufa block from the 'Treasury of the Boeotians' (pp. 347 f.), a new list of offerings made in 340 B.C. for the

²⁵⁹ *AJA* xliii. 193 ff., *BNY* xxxiv. 146 ff.

²⁶⁰ *BCH* lxii. 460.

²⁶¹ *Op. cit.* (see note 248), 88 ff.; cf. *Gnomon*, xv. 608 ff., *Εφημ.* 1936, 140 ff.

²⁶² *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist.* vi. 335 ff.

²⁶³ *Op. cit.* (see note 248), 133.

²⁶⁴ *AJA* xliii. 340 f.; cf. *Ill. London News*, 1938, 1231 f.

²⁶⁵ *BCH* lxii. 461.

²⁶⁶ *Stud. ital. fil. class.* xv. 120.

²⁶⁷ *RevPhil* xiii. 97 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 468.

²⁶⁸ *RevPhil* xiv. 136 ff.

²⁶⁹ *RevPhil* xiii. 122 ff.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 198 f.

²⁷¹ *BCH* lxii. 439 f.; cf. *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist.* vi. 49 ff., *REG* lii. 468 f.

²⁷² *Hermes*, lxxiv. 97; cf. *RevPhil* xiii. 186 f.

²⁷³ III. 6, Paris, 1939; cf. *REG* lii. 470.

²⁷⁴ *BCH* lxii. 332 ff.

rebuilding of the great Temple, and four new fragments of the same series of accounts (pp. 348 ff.), two fragments revealing a new third-century archon, Praochus I, whom Bousquet tentatively assigns to 270-69 B.C. (pp. 358 ff.), and a new inscription (pp. 362 ff.) from the southern face of the Athenian Treasury containing part of a list of members of the Athenian Dionysiac τεχνῖται, falling between *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii (2). 48. 23 and 53. 1.

H. W. Parke has fully discussed²⁷⁵ the origin and procedure of the Delphic oracle and the part played by it in the public, religious, ethical and private life of the Greek world, drawing freely on the rich epigraphical discoveries made at Delphi (see Index, p. 446), and has also re-examined²⁷⁶ the agreement between Delphi and Phaselis regarding payments for the πελαγός, which he seeks to date between 421 and 404 B.C.; in this payment he sees the fixed tariff for consultation of the oracle. F. Sokolowski, in an article²⁷⁷ written in Polish but summarised in French, investigates the sums recorded in Delphian fourth-century contribution-lists as paid τοῦ ὁδελοῦ τοῦ δευτέρου, which he regards as voluntary offerings paid from 368 B.C. onwards; the first offering of each state was officially styled ἐπαρχή, the following one ὁ ὁδελός ὁ δεῦτερος. A. Passerini's article²⁷⁸ on the epigraphical sources for the history of Marius includes a discussion of the famous 'Pirate Law' of Delphi (*SEG* iii. 378), A. Wilhelm examines²⁷⁹ the form Φοικω used in the regulations of the phratry of the Labyadae (Schwyzer, *DGE* 323 C 23), L. Robert points out²⁸⁰ that the Chian who figures in the list of Delphian θεωροδόκοι (*BCH* xlv. 4) as acting in that capacity at Carpasea in N.E. Cyprus is known from an unpublished Cyprian inscription as the governor of that city under Ptolemy V Epiphanes, J. A. O. Larsen's account of the economic life of Greece under Roman sway contains²⁸¹ the text and a translation of the Amphictyonic decree enforcing the currency of the Attic tetradrachm in the last quarter of the second century B.C. (*Fouilles*, iii (2). 139). W. Kolbe argues,²⁸² chiefly on the basis of *SIG* 402 and 598 and *OGI* 36, that the Aetolian festival of the Soteria was penteteric and occurred in the same years as the Olympia; hence he rejects the view that it was founded in 242 B.C.

[*IG* ix.] S. von Bolla comments²⁸³ on the text and the content of a second-century arbitration from Thestia in AETOLIA, recently published by G. Klaffenbach (*SBBerl* 1936, 380 ff.), paying special attention to the cause of the dispute and the meaning of the πολιτικός νόμος and seeking to determine who were the lessees of τὰ διάλαυρα and who the judges (κοινοί).

T. D. Axenides publishes²⁸⁴ a fragment, found at Larisa in THESSALY, of the record of a frontier-dispute which occurred, perhaps in 186-5 B.C., between Πολιχναῖοι and Ὀθორνεῖς, A. Wilhelm comments²⁸⁵ on an epigram of the same provenance (Πολέμων, ii. 71 ff.), A. von Blumenthal interprets²⁸⁶ as 'oil-press' the word κελέτρα found in another Larisaean text (*IG* ix. 2. 521. 33), and P. A. Clement examines²⁸⁷ the cult of the Thessalian Ἐνοδία, a deity of the type of Hecate also called the 'goddess of Pherae,' and gives a corrected reading of a votive inscription from Demetrias (*SEG* iii. 485).

V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA.

[*IG* x.] Interesting finds continue to be made in western MACEDONIA. N. Vulić publishes,²⁸⁸ or republishes, two long and valuable inscriptions from Derriopus (Čepigovo, near Prilep) containing five lists of ἑφηβοί, dating between A.D. 74 and 107, issued by a gymnasiarch, who is described as ἀλείψας ἀπὸ ὥρας δ' ἕως ὥρας ἰ' ἐξ ὀλκίου δρακτ[ῶ] καὶ παραπωλήσας τὸν τῆς γυμνασιαρχίας ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπτά ἀσσαρίων τὸν ξέστην πωλούμενον

²⁷⁵ *A History of the Delphic Oracle*, Oxford, 1939; cf. *ClRev* liv. 158 f.

²⁷⁶ *Hermathena*, liii. 59 ff.

²⁷⁷ *Eos*, xxxix. 239 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 470.

²⁷⁸ *Athenaeum*, xvii. 62 ff.

²⁷⁹ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 123 f.

²⁸⁰ *RevPhil* xiii. 154 ff.

²⁸¹ T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv. 332 f.

²⁸² *Hermes*, lxxv. 54 ff.

²⁸³ *ÖJh* xxxi, Beiblatt, 169 ff.; cf. *Stud. et doc.* v. 617 f.

²⁸⁴ *Ελληνικά*, xi. 263 ff.

²⁸⁵ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 72.

²⁸⁶ *Hermes*, lxxiv. 98 f.

²⁸⁷ *Hesperia*, viii. 200.

²⁸⁸ *CRAInscr* 1939, 219 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 473

ὕπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀσσαρίων δώδεκα, a manumission-record²⁸⁹ of A.D. 200 found at the Treskavec Monastery in the same neighbourhood, and three manumissions in the form of dedications to Pasirata inscribed in the late third and early fourth centuries A.D. on an altar at Suvodol, near Bitolj (Monastir). The same scholar's epigraphical surveys accompanying two sheets²⁹⁰ of the **Archaeologische Karte von Jugoslawien* I know only through the summary of J. and L. Robert. A. D. Keramopoulos has discovered²⁹¹ at Tsouka, on the Albanian frontier W. of Kastoria, a metrical epitaph of six couplets. A. Cameron's article²⁹² on inscriptions relating to sacral manumission and confession opens with a detailed study of a document from Edessa dated A.D. 243 (Ἀθηνᾶ, xii. 70 ff.), which he regards as a real manumission in dedicatory form though the process was that of fictitious sale to the deity. J. M. R. Cormack provides²⁹³ a new copy and restoration of an honorary inscription erected to Nerva at Beroea, proving that that city had received the status of μητρόπολις before Nerva's reign, and L. Robert publishes²⁹⁴ an altar dated A.D. 260-1 from Stavro, erected τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ μητροπόλει Βεροῖα καὶ β' νεωκόρῳ by one who had been ὑδροσκόπος, that is, probably, hydromantis, discusses the Macedonian provincial era, and re-edits a long and interesting inscription honouring a διὰ βίου ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτῃ τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων for outstanding services rendered to his city and province, together with a fragment of a duplicate. To a critical review of A. Heuss's *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus* E. Bikerman adds²⁹⁵ a revision of the treaty between Philip V and Lysimachea found at Dium by G. P. Oikonomos.²⁹⁶

A. Wilhelm restores²⁹⁷ an epigram from Thessalonica (*AM* iv. 20 f., vii. 257), now in the Istanbul Museum (Mendel, *Catalogue*, iii. 934), and L. Robert corrects and dates²⁹⁸ the epitaph of a Thessalonian ὑδροσκόπος. The report of D. M. Robinson and G. E. Mylonas on the fourth campaign of excavation at OLYNTHUS deals²⁹⁹ with a pithos-fragment bearing numeral signs and an engraved leaden sling-bullet, and gives a general survey of the epigraphical finds of 1938. These are fully published by Robinson elsewhere,³⁰⁰ from Olynthus a short archaic text in the Corinthian script (No. 1), a treaty between the Illyrian King Grabus and the Chalcidians, concluded in 357 B.C. (No. 2), seven fourth-century records of leases or sales of houses (Nos. 3-9),³⁰¹ a palimpsest Athenian dicast's ticket (No. 10), a fifth-century tombstone of an Athenian (No. 11); from Ἅγιος Μάμας two fourth-century epitaphs and an honorary decree (Nos. 12-14); from Potidaea-Cassandra a victor-list of the Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Δίῳ (No. 16) and two epitaphs (Nos. 17, 18) and perhaps two texts already mentioned (Nos. 8, 11); from Valta two epitaphs (Nos. 21, 23); from Mende, Polygyros, Galatista and Amphipolis eight inscriptions, mostly funerary, of minor importance; Robinson also re-edits several texts (Nos. 20, 22, 29, 33) imperfectly published by previous scholars. J. Roger gives³⁰² a photograph of a third-century grave-stele from Amphipolis, L. Robert restores³⁰³ a tomb-inscription found near Acanthus and recording a college of θρησκευταὶ [Π]εργάμου ἡρώ[ος] (Demitsas, 789) and discusses the inscribed stones which have found their way from various sites to the monasteries of Athos, M. Guarducci examines³⁰⁴ an endowment-record from Serrhae (Ἐφημ 1936, παρ. 17 ff.) containing the first mention of the festival of the Μαινάδες, G. Mylonas reports³⁰⁵ the discovery of a stamped amphora-handle near the village of Akropotamo, and G. Bakalakis publishes³⁰⁶ the results of his excavations in and near

²⁸⁹ *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist.* vi. 343 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 473. In 2c6 I prefer μετὰ καὶ τῆς θεᾶς to the editor's μετὰ καὶ (λευσιν) τῆς θεᾶς.

²⁹⁰ Prilep-Bitolj, Belgrade, 1937, Kavadarci, 1938; cf. *REG* lii. 473.

²⁹¹ *Πρακτ* 1938, 61 ff.

²⁹² *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxii. 143 ff.; cf. *CIWeekly*, xxxiii.

²⁹³ *JRS* xxx. 50 ff.

²⁹⁴ *RevPhil* xlii. 128 ff.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 348 f.

²⁹⁶ Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας, i. 2 ff.

²⁹⁷ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 64.

²⁹⁸ *RevPhil* xlii. 129 f.

²⁹⁹ *AJA* xliii. 51, 62, 64, 69 ff.

³⁰⁰ *TransAPA* lxix. 43 ff., lxx. 62 f.; cf. *REG* lii. 474 ff., *AA* 1938, 574.

³⁰¹ For the numeral signs used see M. N. Tod, *BSA* xxxvii. 248 f.

³⁰² *BCH* lxiii. 6 f.

³⁰³ *RevPhil* xlii. 133 ff.

³⁰⁴ *Studi e mat.* xiv. 168 ff.

³⁰⁵ *Πρακτ* 1938, 15; cf. *BCH* lxii. 475.

³⁰⁶ *Πρακτ* 1938, 12 f., 79, 86 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 344, *REG* lii. 476, *BCH* lxii. 476 f.

Neapolis (Kavala), which include part of a potter's signature, almost certainly that of Tleson, on a b.-f. kylix, a group of inscribed vase-fragments, a base from the grotto of the Nymphs at Herakleitsa bearing a fourth-century dedication to the Nymphs, a mutilated stele of the same century with the curious text *Απαυλ[ος]·συνπρόται εὐξάμ[ε]νοι πελαν[ώ]ι μνημῆον ἔθηκαν, and six amphora-handles from Vivlia, one of them inscribed ΟΙΣΥΜΑΙΩΝ. L. Robert examines³⁰⁷ a group of inscriptions published in 1885 and 1897 by Dr. S. Mertzides as coming from Philippi and concludes that, with one exception, these are forgeries or at least seriously contaminated; he also shows (p. 147) that a mutilated metrical epitaph seen by F. Cumont at Drama was already known from a perfect copy made by Papadopoulos Kera-meus, and corrects³⁰⁸ the accepted restoration of an inscription (*IGRom* i. 829) in honour of the Thracian king Rhoemetakes, which he assigns to Abdera. He also attributes³⁰⁹ to Chalcedon a grave-stele, now in the Istanbul Museum, which Mendel (*Catalogue*, iii. 977) claimed for Byzantium. The work³¹⁰ of T. S. Theophanidis on the island of Proconnesus (Marmara) I know only by name.

THRACE continues to supply a steady stream of new inscriptions, the great majority of them dedicatory, which are collected in the various Bulgarian Museums, notably at Sofia, Plovdiv and Varna. G. I. Kazarow describes and illustrates³¹¹ no fewer than 1128 monuments, many of which are inscribed, relative to the cult of the Thracian horseman-god, with an introductory survey of the cult, a list of provenances (pp. 17 ff.), and useful indices compiled by C. M. Danov; he also publishes³¹² five votives, three of them previously edited by G. Seure, to Heracles, Soter Asclepius, the Nymphs, θεὸς ἥρωος, and an unnamed deity, found in the district of Ivailovgrad, at Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and at Gorna Orëhovitza. Danov publishes³¹³ an altar dedicated κυρία Ἥρα by a πραγματευτής, son of a Θρακάρχης, two dedications to the Νύμφαι ἀέναιοι or σώτειραι, a thank-offering κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ and another Διὶ Ζβελσοῦρδω from the districts of Ćirpan and Pazardjik, and from various sites a group³¹⁴ of five dedications, an epitaph and a potter's signature. To D. Detschew we owe³¹⁵ two epitaphs from the district of Sveti Vrač in E. Macedonia, a dedication Δεῖλ ἐπηκό[ω] Συροτέρη [θ]εῶ, now in the Burgas Museum, from the Malko Tirnovo neighbourhood, a thankoffering to Ares imperfectly edited in *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* vii. 317, and one to Pluto and Demeter from the district of Sofia. V. Ivanova's report on the excavation of three Christian basilicas at Hissar, N. of Plovdiv, contains³¹⁶ several late epitaphs and other inscriptions. H. U. Instinsky discusses³¹⁷ two fragments of a milestone recently discovered at Gulijanovtzi, N. of Kostinbrod, bearing an inscription of ἡ Πανταλιωτῶν πόλις engraved about A.D. 230 in the reign of Severus Alexander and the governorship of Rutilius Crispinus, and examines the problem of the frontier between the territories of Pautalia and Serdica. A. Salač deals³¹⁸ with the votive inscription on an altar from Kara Orman, in S. Bulgaria, published³¹⁹ by G. I. Kazarow, and J. Zingerle corrects³²⁰ Δυσσηρηνός into Λυσσηρηνός in a thankoffering of a Roman soldier found at Dinikly, between Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis (*IGRom* i. 764).

Especially noteworthy is the contribution made by the Greek colonies founded on the western coast of the Pontus. I regret that M. Apostolidis' 'Collection of ancient Greek inscriptions discovered in and near the Greek colonies on the Euxine'³²¹ is inaccessible to me. C. M. Danov uses³²² published inscriptions and one apparently unpublished (p. 246), as well as amphora-handles, among the sources for his essay on 'The ancient economic

³⁰⁷ *RevPhil* xiii. 136 ff.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 151.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 187 f.

³¹⁰ * Προκοννησιακαὶ σελίδες. Ἡ νῆσος Μαρμαρᾶς, Istanbul, 1937; cf. *Échos d'Orient*, xl. 496 f.

³¹¹ *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien*, Budapest, 1938; cf. *JournSav* 1939, 110 ff.

³¹² *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xi. 283 ff.; cf. 303 ff., *REG* lii. 477, 480 f.

³¹³ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xi. 196 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 479.

³¹⁴ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xi. 306 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 480.

³¹⁵ *ÖJh* xxxi, Beibl. 121 ff.

³¹⁶ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xi. 216, 226 ff., 232, 236, 240 ff., 305 f.; cf. *REG* lii. 478 f.

³¹⁷ *SBBerl* 1938, 418 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 477.

³¹⁸ *Hlidka Arch.* xi. 401 ff.

³¹⁹ *Bull. Soc. Arch. Bulg.* v. 7 ff.

³²⁰ *ÖJh* xxx, Beibl. 165.

³²¹ * Θρακικά, ix. 5 ff.

³²² *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xii. 185 ff. (German summary, 248 ff.).

history of the western shore of the Pontus down to the Roman settlement.' Apostolidis discusses ³²³ 'An unknown Thracian poet or philosopher' on the basis of Apollonia (Sozopol), now at Plovdiv (*RA* xviii (1911), 435 ff.), and A. Salac examines ³²⁴ a dedication erected at Mesembria by six generals and their secretary (*ibid.* 423 ff.), probably to Athena Soteira, dating it after the war with Burebistas, edits ³²⁵ with a full commentary a new text of Odessus (Varna), which sheds an interesting light on the barbarian menace threatening that city early in the second century B.C. and the measures taken to avert it, and discusses ³²⁶ a dedication from Pavlikeni (Tirnov) in the Varna Museum, first published by B. Filow (*Bull. Soc. Arch. Bulg.* iii. 25 ff.). G. I. Kazarow publishes ³²⁷ votives from Orta Keui and Akalan now preserved at Varna, and C. M. Danov examines ³²⁸ the history of the West Pontic κοινόν in the light of an honorary inscription of Odessus, which indicates that in the second century A.D. the Pontic hexapolis comprised Odessus, Tomi, Callatis, Istria and Dionysopolis, and edits ³²⁹ a banquet-relief from the same site bearing an interesting epigram commemorating a man who died soon after marriage. L. Robert restores ³³⁰ a fragment of a grave-cippus and two mutilated decrees of Callatis, and opens his discussion ³³¹ of the origin of the word *caballus* by examining the use of καβαλλεῖον in a third-century subscription list for the building of a temple of Dionysus in that city. I call special attention to his valuable summaries of other epigraphical discoveries from Callatis,³³² Tomi³³³ and other sites in the Dobrudja³³⁴ which have appeared in works out of my reach, and to R. Vulpe's remarks³³⁵ on the fifth- and sixth-century inscriptions of that district.

N. Dzikowski re-edits ³³⁶ the Olbian dedication (*CIG* 2080) to Achilles Ποντάρχης rediscovered in the Museum of Wilno, E. Bickerman studies ³³⁷ 'the Orphic blessing' of a metrical epitaph from Panticapaeum, and J. and L. Robert summarise and correct ³³⁸ M. A. Shangin's publication ³³⁹ of a group of texts from Chersonesus Taurica.

VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN.

[*IG* xi.] In a new volume ³⁴⁰ of the series entitled *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, E. Lapalus deals with the 'Agora of the Italians' and treats incidentally the inscriptions engraved on the portico, *exedrae*, *thermae* and other portions of that complex of buildings. J. Coupry's 'Studies in Delian Epigraphy' are concerned mainly with administrative documents found at Athens (see p. 64), but contain ³⁴¹ also the first edition of a fragment from Delos, ll. 7-11 of which correspond to ll. 9-13 of *IG* ii.² 1634, and W. Deonna describes ³⁴² a fragmentary Delian bronze lamp bearing two month-names. S. Ronzevalle proposes ³⁴³ to see in the enigmatic NEMAPA of *Inscriptions de Délos*, 2240 f., the tiara of Atargatis, A. Passerini's examination of the inscriptions relating to Marius deals ³⁴⁴ with the dedication of the Delian Agora (*BCH* lvi. 491 ff.), in which Marius' name must be restored, and J. A. O. Larsen's account of the economic condition of Greece under the Roman Empire makes full use ³⁴⁵ of the specially abundant materials afforded by the Delian temple-records. B. D. Meritt discusses³⁴⁶ in connexion with an Athenian document of ca. 37-6 B.C. (see p. 63), four Delian dedications (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1624 bis, 2516-8) relative to Zenon son of Pammenes and Pammenes son of Zenon of the Marathonian deme.

³²³ * *Θροσικά*, viii. 310 ff.

³²⁴ *Eunomia*, i. 9 f. (seen only in proof).

³²⁵ *Ibid.* 3 ff.

³²⁶ *Hlidka Arch.* xi. 391.

³²⁷ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xi. 283 ff.

³²⁸ *Klio*, xxxi. 436 ff.

³²⁹ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xi. 203 ff.

³³⁰ *RevPhil* xiii. 151 ff.

³³¹ *Ibid.* 175.

³³² *REG* lii. 482 ff.

³³³ *Ibid.* 481 f.

³³⁴ *Ibid.* 482.

³³⁵ *La Dobroudja* (Bucharest, 1938), 346 ff.

³³⁶ *JHS* lix. 84 ff.

³³⁷ *Journ. Warburg Inst.* ii. 368 ff.

³³⁸ *REG* lii. 484 f.

³³⁹ * *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, iii. 72 ff.

³⁴⁰ *XIX. L'Agora des Italiens* (Paris, 1939), 20, 43 ff., 82, 89 ff., 105.

³⁴¹ *BCH* lxii. 238 f.

³⁴² *Ibid.* 232 ff.

³⁴³ *Mél Beyr* xxii. 109 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlv. 524 f.

³⁴⁴ *Athenaeum*, xvii. 70 ff.

³⁴⁵ T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv. 334 ff.

³⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, ix. 91 ff.

[IG xii.] I have not yet seen the eagerly awaited supplementary volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*³⁴⁷ dealing with the Aegean islands (with the exception of Delos), on which F. Hiller von Gaertringen has long been engaged, but can safely assume that it will be essential for any future study of the epigraphy of this district.

C. Blinkenberg examines³⁴⁸ eleven sacrificial regulations found in the island of RHODES, at Lindus (Nos. 1-4) and in the territories of Lindus (5-7), Ialysus (8) and Camirus (9-11); four of these are here first published, while the remainder will be found in IG xii. 1. 892, SIG 1030-1, ARW xxxii. 87, *Annuario*, i. 367 and *Clara Rhodos*, vi/vii. 385. One of these (No. 7 = xii. 1. 892), which presents especial difficulties, is independently discussed³⁴⁹ and boldly restored by J. Zingerle. A fragment of a bilingual Phoenician-Greek votive text, found near the temple of Apollo Pythius at Rhodes, is discussed³⁵⁰ by G. Levi Della Vida.

M. Guarducci reviews³⁵¹ the various interpretations which have been proposed of the term ἄγγελος used in a number of epitaphs from THERA (IG xii. 3. 933 ff.) of the second and third centuries A.D., and concludes that the ἄγγελοι are pagan rather than Christian and so 'inferi piuttosto che celesti,' perhaps similar to the *Di Manes* of the Romans.

L. Robert shows³⁵² that an honorary inscription for Geta copied in Nisyrus (IGRom iv. 1733) originates from Cos, where it had previously been seen by Rayet (*ibid.* 1107); he also claims³⁵³ a Coan origin for a leaden weight in the Froehner Collection at Paris inscribed Νικόμαχος ἰσθμιώταις and proves³⁵⁴ the same provenance for an inscription, now in England, assigned to Crete in IGRom i. 1023. He further restores³⁵⁵ a fragmentary text from Cos (Maiuri, *Silloges*, 438) as a copy of a Halicarnassian decree in honour of Hermias, a Coan doctor, the latter part of which survives in Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 13. M. Segre discusses³⁵⁶ two *leges sacrae* from the Coan Asclepieum, (a) editing for the first time a fourth-century regulation (which he regards as 'perhaps the most beautiful inscription of Cos') of the cult of the Nymphs, also mentioned in a third-century fragment of a sacred calendar here published, providing against contamination of the κρᾶναι, and (b) giving a new edition, with full commentary, of the regulation³⁵⁷ regarding the preservation of the cypresses in Apollo's precinct, and adding a newly discovered fragment of a second copy of the same law exhibited in the temple of Aphrodite. M. Giffler revises,³⁵⁸ in the light of recent accessions to our knowledge, the Coan calendar as drawn up by R. Herzog. Segre also throws fresh light³⁵⁹ on the well-known record (SIG 953 = IBM 299) of the Cnidian arbitration between Calymna and certain citizens of Cos, discovered in the former island and preserved in the British Museum. The names of several of the persons involved in the case recur in Calymnian inscriptions newly unearthed, which prove that the arbitration belongs to the late fourth or early third century B.C., and attention is drawn to the significance of the document for the relation of Cos and Calymna, which at this time were still independent, though in the third century Calymna appears as a Coan deme. Of outstanding value and interest is the preliminary report³⁶⁰ by Segre on the first campaign of excavation carried out in Calymna in 1937. Among the numerous inscriptions brought to light there and awaiting fuller publication, Segre signals a Christian invocation of the fifth century (p. 35), dedications to Dionysus and Poseidon, Demeter and Core (p. 37), a decree granting citizenship and other privileges to Moschion of Thera (pp. 37 ff.), a long decree of ca. 220 B.C. in honour of Iasian judges, a fragment of which (IBM 262) has long been in the British Museum (pp. 39 ff.), a new fragment of the third-century dedication of the σκανά and προσκάνιον of the Theatre (pp. 41 f.), and the inscription recording the dedication of the Theatre itself by a woman

³⁴⁷ * IG xii. Suppl., Berlin, 1939; cf. *CIWeekly*, xxxiii.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 187.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 163 ff.

³⁵⁶ *Riv. Ist. Arch.* vi. 191 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 487, *REG* lii.

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R. Herzog, *AbhBerl* 1928, 6. 32 f.

³⁵⁸ *AJA* xliii. 445 f.; cf. *REG* lii. 488.

³⁵⁹ *Epigraphica*, i. 9 ff. (proof); cf. A. Wilhelm, *Anatolian Studies* (see note 434), 361 f.

³⁶⁰ *Mem. dell'Istituto FERT*, iii. 33 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 488 ff.

³⁴⁸ Δράγνα M. P. Nilsson dedicatum (Lund, 1939), 96 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 486.

³⁴⁹ *ÖJh* xxxi, Beibl. 157 ff.

³⁵⁰ *JAOs* lx. 260 ff.

³⁵¹ *Studi e mat.* xv. 79 ff.

³⁵² *RevPhil* xlii. 185.

³⁵³ *Ibid.* 185 ff.

(p. 42), three statue-bases from the monument of a distinguished Roman family (pp. 43 ff.), five blocks from the monument of M'. Laterensis, including three epigrams (pp. 45 ff.), a first-century honorary inscription of Apollodorus son of Python (pp. 48 f.), a text commemorative ὁμονοίας Καλυμνίων καὶ Ἰσθμιωτῶν (pp. 49 f.), part of an architrave dedicated to Caligula and Ἀπόλλωνι Δαλίῳ Κρησίῳ (p. 50), and several manumission-records, of which forty-two have been discovered, with a double dating by Coan μόναρχος and Calymnian στεφανηφόρος (pp. 53 ff.).

A dedication discovered at Paros (IG xii. 5. 271), but originating from Delos (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1624 bis), is discussed³⁶¹ by B. D. Meritt, and an epigram of Syros (Ἐφημ 1931, 114 f.) is corrected³⁶² by A. Wilhelm. M. Guarducci retains³⁶³ in a Tenian honorary decree (xii. 5. 840. 13) the name Ἀμφέρων, which, she points out, is elsewhere attested for Hierapytna.

A. Salač examines and restores³⁶⁴ the preamble of an interesting name-list from Chios, suggesting [οἰκί]τας γράψα[ι οὓς ἡ] πόλις ἤλε[σθέρωσε]. Ἔναι ὑποίκ[ημα ἀ]νουδές. P. P. Argenti's *Bibliography of Chios from Classical Times to 1936* (Oxford, 1940) contains a section³⁶⁵ on ancient and medieval epigraphy. L. Politis has brought to light³⁶⁶ an inscribed sarcophagus on the island of Icarus, and a passage in a Samian decree in honour of a doctor is explained and restored³⁶⁷ by L. Robert.

K. Lehmann-Hartleben has issued provisional reports on the first and second campaigns of excavation at SAMOTHRACE. The earlier of these³⁶⁸ includes a bilingual cult-regulation from the Anaktoron, *Deorum sacra qui non acceperunt, non intrant*. Ἀμύητον μὴ εἰσιέναι, on which C. Picard comments,³⁶⁹ together with an honorary decree for a citizen of Maronea, a fragment of a list of initiates in Latin prefixed by the heading Ἀγαθῇ [τύχη], an early Christian leaden amulet, and some early Hellenistic stamped tiles and Rhodian amphora-handles. G. Bakalakis and R. L. Scranton edit³⁷⁰ a third-century Samothracian decree honouring an officer of the Ptolemies in charge of the Maronea district for saving the region, including Samothrace itself, from barbarian, perhaps Gaulish, attacks. Comments and corrections are made by P. Roussel,³⁷¹ by J. and L. Robert,³⁷² and by M. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles.³⁷³ The second report announces³⁷⁴ the rescue of a number of already known inscriptions and the discovery of eighteen new texts, of which twelve are catalogues of μύσται, including one of special importance dated A.D. 19, and provisionally edits three such lists, one of them in Latin, of which that for A.D. 113 is perfectly preserved. Wilhelm opens³⁷⁵ his discussion of 'prepositionless genitives' by rejecting the proposed insertion of ἐκ before Χερρονήσου in a Samothracian decree (xii. 8. 156 B 16 = SIG 502. 37). An interesting inscription of a triple ἱερὸν has come to light³⁷⁶ at Thasos, and C. Picard restores³⁷⁷ a passage in another Thasian document³⁷⁸ on the basis of a poem of Ras Shamra.

H. Volkmann's article³⁷⁹ entitled Δόκιμα χρήματα starts by examining the meaning of this phrase as used in a sixth-century legal document of Eretria (xii. 9. 1273), and L. Robert shows³⁸⁰ that an ephebic inscription in the Museum at Chalcis, recently published by W. Peek (*AM* lix. 77 ff.), is of Boeotian, probably of Tanagraean, origin.

[IG xiii.] M. Guarducci has issued a second volume of the epigraphical *corpus* of CRETE,³⁸¹ but this is still inaccessible to me, and I must defer to a later occasion some indication of its

³⁶¹ *Hesperia*, ix. 91 ff.

³⁶² *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 81 ff.

³⁶³ *RivFil* lxvii. 28 f.; cf. *JHS* lix. 268.

³⁶⁴ *Eunomia*, i. 1 ff. (seen in proof only); cf. L. Robert, *BCH* lix. 453 ff., *Études épigr. et philol.* 118 ff.

³⁶⁵ Pp. 162 ff.

³⁶⁶ *AA* 1938, 581.

³⁶⁷ *RevPhil* xiii. 165 f.

³⁶⁸ *AJA* xliii. 133 ff.; cf. *ibid.* 464 ff., *BCH* lxii. 478.

REG lii. 492.

³⁶⁹ *RA* xiii. 268.

³⁷⁰ *AJPh* lx. 452 ff.

³⁷¹ *BCH* lxiii. 1 ff.

³⁷² *REG* lii. 492 f.

³⁷³ *AJPh* lxi. 207 f.

³⁷⁴ *AJA* xlv. 345 ff.

³⁷⁵ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 117.

³⁷⁶ *BCH* lxii. 477.

³⁷⁷ *RA* xiv. 66 f.

³⁷⁸ *BCH* lxi. 381 f.

³⁷⁹ *Hermes*, lxxiv. 99 ff.

³⁸⁰ *RevPhil* xiii. 122 ff.

³⁸¹ * *Inscriptiones Creticae, II. Tituli Cretae occidentalis*, Rome, 1939; cf. C. N. Petrou-Mesogeites, *Ἑλληνικά*, xi. 351 f.

contents. The same scholar has, with her accustomed energy and skill, (a) published ³⁸² a relief from Melambes, S. of Retimo, dedicated [τ]ῶν [Α]θάναι Φαδίαι (= ἡδεῖαι); (b) given ³⁸³ a revised text, with ample commentary, of the well-known hymn to Dictaeon Zeus from Palaikastro; (c) discussed ³⁸⁴ the oath of the Drerians (*SIG* 527 = *Inscr. Cret.* I. ix. 1), now at Istanbul, showing in the light of a new discovery that it belongs to the Hellenistic age, and explaining the curious phrases added in ll. 137 ff. as a list of memoranda for the future ἄζωστοι; and (d) in a series of five valuable 'Notes on Cretan Epigraphy' ³⁸⁵ rejected the interpretation given by Demargne and van Effenterre of the mysterious θεοσολοιον of an archaic decree from Drerus; re-examined the decree of Praesus (*SIG* 524) relative to the Stalitae, proposing a new reading of l. 10; suggested a fresh restoration of a passage in a Parian decree engraved at Allaria and now preserved in Berlin (*GDI* 4940; cf. *BCH* lix. 499 f.); offered a commentary, based on a revision of the stone, on an inscription of Palaikastro (*DGE* 200) relative to the maintenance and repair of the statues in the Dictaeon sanctuary; and corrected and interpreted the text of a long and interesting epigram from Itanus, now at Candia, dealing with the heroic cult of three dead children (*SEG* iii. 774). C. N. Petrou-Mesogeites publishes ³⁸⁶ a batch of ten new texts, mostly epitaphs, from Lato πρὸς Κομάρρα, Olus, Chersonesus and an unknown origin, of which the most interesting is an archaic epitaph in retrograde script from Chersonesus; to him we also owe a series of 'Observations on Cretan Inscriptions,' ³⁸⁷ containing comments on or corrections of a considerable number of inscriptions appearing in the first two volumes of the *Inscriptiones Creticae*, some of them based on a re-examination of the actual stones. J. Bousquet's report on the Hellenistic temple of Aphrodite and Ares at sta Lenika includes ³⁸⁸ a publication of a perfectly preserved building-record dating from the second half of the second century B.C., an unfinished metrical votive, a fragment which enables us to restore *Inscriptiones Creticae*, I. xxii. 2, and a dedication to Aphrodite commemorating a victory won, probably by Lato, over Olus. L. Robert restores ³⁸⁹ a fragment from Lebena (*Inscr. Cret.* I. xvii. 33) in honour of Seleucus, Ptolemaic commandant in Cyprus, which may have been brought from that island to Crete, and also proves ³⁹⁰ the Coan origin of an inscription assigned to an unknown locality in Crete (*IGRom* i. 1023). A lamp discovered ³⁹¹ in the course of the British excavations in the plain of Lasithi bears the maker's name. A. Wilhelm discusses ³⁹² fully an epigram from Rhauca (*Inscr. Cret.* I. xxvii. 2), and S. Marinatos' excavation at Amnisus has brought to light ³⁹³ a dedication made by a board of κόσμοι to Zeus Thenatas, whose name must be restored in a votive inscription ³⁹⁴ found in 1934.

VII. WESTERN EUROPE.

[*IG* xiv.] From SICILY there is less than usual to record. In her work on the ancient Greek phratries M. Guarducci revises and discusses ³⁹⁵ eight sling-bullets found at Catania and elsewhere (*IG* xiv. 2407. 10-15, 18, 11a) and edits one, in the Palermo Museum, for the first time. M. Gütschow quotes ³⁹⁶ a Syracusan epitaph (xiv. 150) for the use of ληνός meaning 'sarcophagus'; A. Ferrua's notes ³⁹⁷ on the Christian epigraphy of Syracuse I have not yet seen.

We pass to ITALY. A. Rocco discusses ³⁹⁸ the archaic ex-voto of Nicomachus (xiv. 652) from S. Mauro Forte, near Metapontum, and M. Guarducci re-edits ³⁹⁹ and examines a

³⁸² *Riv. Ist. Arch.* vi. 12 ff.

³⁸³ *Studi e mat.* xv. 1 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlv. 127.

³⁸⁴ *Epigraphica*, i. 93 ff.

³⁸⁵ *RivFil* lxvii. 20 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 493 ff.

³⁸⁶ *Ἑλληνικά*, x. 193 ff.

³⁸⁷ *Ἑλληνικά*, xi. 273 ff.

³⁸⁸ *BCH* lxii. 389 ff.; cf. *GRACInscr* 1939, 275 f.

³⁸⁹ *RevPhil* xiii. 153 f.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 187.

³⁹¹ *JHS* lviii. 233, *AA* 1938, 583.

³⁹² *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 72 ff.

³⁹³ *Πρακτ.* 1938, 22 f., 136 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 345, *BCH* lxii. 483.

³⁹⁴ *Πρακτ.* 1934, 132.

³⁹⁵ *Mem. Linc.* VI. viii. 105, 127 f.

³⁹⁶ *Mem. Pont. Acc.* iv. 115.

³⁹⁷ *Archivio stor. per la Sicilia*, iv.

³⁹⁸ *Epigraphica*, i. 322 ff.

³⁹⁹ *Mem. Linc.* VI. viii. 105 ff., 128 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 537 f.

group of documents ⁴⁰⁰ which throw light upon the position and activities of the Neapolitan phratries, which appear to have played an important rôle in the life of their city. M. Della Corte publishes ⁴⁰¹ a series of inscriptions and graffiti, of which twelve are Greek, from the *cryptoporticus* of the theatre of Suessa Aurunca (Sessa); A. Adriani ⁴⁰² and U. Zanotti-Bianco ⁴⁰³ publish the signatures of two Athenian sculptors of the second century B.C., Callimachus and Gorgias, engraved on a base at Minturnae, and G. Carettoni ⁴⁰⁴ has brought to light a fragment of a Greek inscription in excavating the theatre of Casinum (Cassino). G. Calza describes ⁴⁰⁵ the Tavern of the Seven Sages at Ostia, in which the identity of the Sages—Σόλων Ἀθηναῖος, Θαλῆς Μειλήσιος, Χεῖλων Λακεδαιμόνιος and [Βίας] Πριηνεύς—is indicated by Greek legends placed beside their several portraits.

The discoveries made in ROME are fairly numerous but not of outstanding interest. A. Ferrua publishes ⁴⁰⁶ five new epitaphs found to the North of the church of S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana, one of which is an epigram commemorating a native of Tyana in Cappadocia, and provides ⁴⁰⁷ a full edition of a tomb-inscription already published ⁴⁰⁸ ending with the formula $\eta\varsigma\ \delta\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\ \alpha\acute{\nu}\alpha\psi\acute{\upsilon}\xi\eta\ \tau\eta\upsilon\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\eta\upsilon$, which is also edited ⁴⁰⁹ by E. Josi, together with another short epitaph from the Christian cemetery on the Via Latina. From the Via di S. Basilio, A. L. Pietrogrande reports ⁴¹⁰ the discovery of an amphora inscription and a graffito, fully discussed ⁴¹¹ by V. De Marco, reproducing, though not without some mistakes, Homer, *Iliad*, xxiv. 171–5. R. Paribeni publishes ⁴¹² a fragment of a metrical epitaph found on the Via Casilina, and G. Jacopi ⁴¹³ a similar fragment and the extant portion of the epitaph of an ἐπίτροπος λούδων, ἐπίτροπος Νωρικοῦ, εὐθηνιάρχης of Alexandria. C. P. Ludlum has catalogued ⁴¹⁴ the Museum of the American Academy at Rome, among the contents of which are six stamped amphora-handles, four of which are from Egypt and one each from Rhodes and Loryma. F. Cumont discusses ⁴¹⁵ a tombstone from the Campagna commemorating in verse and picture the erotic passion of a native of Germe in Mysia buried near Rome. D. Magie assigns ⁴¹⁶ the dedication erected on the Capitol by the people of Tabae to a date soon after 169 B.C., and examines the chronology of the other dedications grouped with it (xiv. 986–7 and pp. 695 f.); A. Passerini's survey of the epigraphical evidence for the career of C. Marius includes ⁴¹⁷ a hitherto neglected entry in a Roman chronological table of historical events (xiv. 1297. i. 10); A. Wilhelm proposes ⁴¹⁸ to read $\delta\epsilon\iota$ in place of $\epsilon\iota$ (Wilamowitz $\epsilon\upsilon$) in the poem of Marcellus of Side (xiv. 1389. 42); A. Puech examines ⁴¹⁹ the interesting metrical epitaph of the physician Asclepiades (xiv. 1424), with special reference to Boyancé's recent treatment ⁴²⁰ of it; Wilhelm interprets ⁴²¹ and restores a metrical epitaph from Rome (xiv. 1497) and examines its metrical structure, and F. Cumont offers ⁴²² a new reading of the epigram (xiv. 1560 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca*, 723) engraved on a child's sarcophagus, now in the Lateran. L. Robert shows ⁴²³ that the man commemorated in yet another Roman grave-epigram (*SEG* iv. 105) was a native of Nicomedia in Bithynia. J. Quasten discusses ⁴²⁴ in detail the sculptured stone, now in the Lateran Museum, set up by Βηρατίου Νικατορος over the grave of three women $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \phi\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \beta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \cdot\ \omicron\ \beta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ (E. Diehl, *Inscr. Lat. Christ. Vet.* 4463 and Add.), and conjectures for Beratius a Pontic origin, G. Stuhlfauth describes ⁴²⁵ a relief of the second century A.D. in the Vatican bearing the representation of the lighthouse at Ostia and the legend [E]ϋπλοία accompanied by the

⁴⁰⁰ *IG* xiv. 715, 721–4, 728, 741–4, 748, 759, 783, A. Maiuri, *Studi Romani*, i. 21 ff.

⁴⁰¹ * *Campania Romana*, i. 189 ff.; cf. *CIWeekly*, xxxii. 119.

⁴⁰² *NSe* xiv. 174 f.

⁴⁰³ *JHS* lix. 228.

⁴⁰⁴ *NSe* xv. 134.

⁴⁰⁵ *Die Antike*, xv. 99 ff.

⁴⁰⁶ *Epigraphica*, i. 145, 148 ff.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 150.

⁴⁰⁸ * *Civiltà cattolica*, 1938 II. 159.

⁴⁰⁹ *Riv. arch. crist.* xvi. 228 f.; cf. 201.

⁴¹⁰ *NSe* xiv. 378, 408 f.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.* 422 ff.

⁴¹² *Ibid.* 259 f.

⁴¹³ *Bull. Com. Arch.* lxvii. 20 ff.

⁴¹⁴ *Mem. Am. Acad.* xv. 19, Nos. 192–7.

⁴¹⁵ *Ant. Class.* ix; cf. *GRACInscr* 1940, 21.

⁴¹⁶ *Anatolian Studies* (see note 434), 176 f.

⁴¹⁷ *Athenaeum*, xvii. 73 ff.

⁴¹⁸ *Hermes*, lxxiv. 208.

⁴¹⁹ *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist.* vi. 199 ff.

⁴²⁰ *Le culte des Muses*, 284 ff.

⁴²¹ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 66 f.

⁴²² *RA* xiii. 47 f.

⁴²³ *RevPhil* xiii. 169 ff.

⁴²⁴ *RM* liii. 50 ff.; cf. *Riv. arch. crist.* xvi. 185.

⁴²⁵ *RM* liii. 145 ff.

Christian monogram, and E. Honigsmann explains ⁴²⁶ a geographical phrase in a Christian epitaph of A.D. 431 in the light of Syrian parallels (*CIG* 9730).

Wilhelm investigates ⁴²⁷ the problems presented by a grave-epigram from Bononia (*IG* xiv. 1550) and M. M. Roberti re-edits ⁴²⁸ a bilingual epitaph from Pola, now in the Istria Museum (*CIL* v. 168). A. Ferrua's article ⁴²⁹ on a Montanist community in the Aurelia at the close of the fourth century I have not seen.

Ferrua gives a short account ⁴³⁰ of the inscription of Augusta Treverorum (Trier) recently published by R. Herzog (cf. *JHS* lix. 272), whose chronology and interpretation of the document he challenges, believing that it relates to a girdle dedicated to Apollo in one of his temples. E. Bickel discusses ⁴³¹ the legend Φηλιζ Φουστεινα on a Spanish gem of A.D. 161-76 (*CIL* ii, p. 1025); R. P. Wright edits ⁴³² a graffito on two fragments of a shale vessel found in 1937 at Dorchester (Dorset), and M. V. Taylor's survey of the Romano-British remains of Oxfordshire includes ⁴³³ a fragment of copper with a Greek inscription found at Wilcote.

VIII. ASIA MINOR.

Among the contents of the Buckler-Festschrift ⁴³⁴ are a bibliography of Buckler's published works and a number of essays relative to the inscriptions of Asia Minor. W. M. Calder examines (pp. 15 ff.) the pagan epitaphs of Eumeneia and Apamea, showing that probably none which contain the 'Eumenean formula,' ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν (ζῶντα) Θεόν, are pagan, though a few may be Jewish; A. Cameron discusses (pp. 27 ff.) the status of θρεπτοί and cognate classes as revealed by epigraphic evidence from Asia Minor; C. W. M. Cox publishes (pp. 63 ff.) the epitaph of Heortasius, bishop of Appia between A.D. 350 and 400, τίμιος εὐνοῦχος ἀεὶ Θεὸν λιτα(ν)εύων; F. Cumont adds (pp. 67 ff.) two recent finds, both of the first century A.D., to the scanty supply of documents relating to the cult of Mithra in Anatolia ⁴³⁵; J. J. E. Hondius comments (pp. 99 ff.) on a Bithynian inscription in the Brussa Museum honouring Cornutus, θρεπτήρα Μουσῶν καὶ λόγων κοσμήτορα; A. H. M. Jones deals (pp. 103 ff.) with the *civitates liberae et immunes* in the East; J. Keil marshals and examines (pp. 119 ff.) the epigraphical evidence, some hitherto unpublished, for the cults of Hestia Boulaia, Artemis Ephesia, Πῦρ ἀφθαρτον and other deities in the Prytaneum at Ephesus; D. Magie traces (pp. 161 ff.), partly with the aid of inscriptions, the relations of Rome to the city-states of Asia Minor from 200 to 133 B.C.; B. D. Meritt discusses (pp. 187 ff.) four Carian members of the Athenian Empire; T. B. Mitford publishes (pp. 197 ff.) a dedication of Nicocles, King of Paphos, in the Cyprian syllabic script; W. M. Ramsay tackles (pp. 201 ff.) various problems connected with the early history of Asia Minor; L. Robert throws new light on the letter of Julius Caesar found in the Agora of Smyrna, assigns to the temple of Apollo Smintheus, near Kulakli in the Troad, a fragment attributed to Assos by Sterrett, and edits with a full and valuable commentary on style and content an interesting honorary decree of Ephesus discovered at Aphrodisias in 1913 (pp. 227 ff.); R. Syme's 'Observations on the Province of Cilicia' include a study of *IGRom* iv. 1694 in connexion with Antipater, dynast of Derbe and Laranda (pp. 301 ff.); M. N. Tod traces the career of Pliny's friend, the *corrector* Maximus, and denies Viale's contention that an inscription of Attalea (*SEG* vi. 650) relates to him (pp. 333 ff.); and A. Wilhelm discusses the relations of Athens and Colophon with special reference to a group of documents ⁴³⁶ recently unearthed at Colophon (pp. 345 ff.). The concluding index (pp. 381 f.) of inscriptions quoted in full will be found especially valuable to the epigraphist, and shows that eleven inscriptions have found in this volume their first

⁴²⁶ *Mélanges R. Dussaud*, 132.

⁴²⁷ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 138 ff.; cf. *Wien. Stud.* xxxix. 70 f.

⁴²⁸ *Epigraphica*, i. 289 f.

⁴²⁹ * *Civiltà cattolica*, lxxxvii. II. 216 ff.

⁴³⁰ *Epigraphica*, i. 198 ff.; cf. * *Civiltà cattolica*, 1939, I.

⁴³¹ *REG* lii. 536 f.

⁴³² *RhMus* lxxxviii. 95 f.

⁴³³ *JRS* xxix. 227.

⁴³⁴ *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Oxfordshire*, I (Oxford U.P., 1939), 344.

⁴³⁵ *Anatolian Studies presented to W. H. Buckler*, edited by W. M. Calder and J. Keil, Manchester U.P., 1939; cf. *ClRev* liii. 202 f., *AJA* xlii. 561 ff.

⁴³⁶ Cf. *Mélanges* xxii. 206 f.

⁴³⁷ *AJPh* lvi. 358 ff.; cf. L. Robert, *RevPhil* x. 158 ff.

publication. T. R. S. Broughton's exhaustive account⁴³⁷ of the economic life of Asia Minor under the Roman Empire also draws largely upon inscriptional materials, and M. P. Charlesworth derives from the same region eleven of his *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero*. Asia Minor also figures prominently in L. Robert's long and varied article⁴³⁸ already repeatedly cited; the principal items will be noted below in their appropriate places. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder have edited with their characteristic skill and thoroughness a new volume of the invaluable *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*,⁴³⁹ devoted to Laodicea, Colossae, Attouda, Heraclea, Tabae, Apamea, Dioclea, the Upper Tembris Valley, Synnada and Afyon Karahissar, as well as other sites in Phrygia and Caria; 422 monuments, of which all save 47 are inscribed, are here described and, for the most part, illustrated, and an annotated list is added of 242 inscriptions previously found on the sites in question. H. Grégoire points out⁴⁴⁰ that one of the inscriptions in this collection (No. 385) almost certainly comes from a baptistery.

We start our geographical survey with the Greek cities of CARIA. J. Zingerle offers⁴⁴¹ a new restoration of a *lex sacra* (Ἐφεση 1911, 54) from Loryma, in the Rhodian Peraea. O. Gottwald publishes⁴⁴² an enigmatic text from Mylasa, which he seeks to interpret in the light of an inscription from Patara in Lycia (*TAM* ii. 491), T. R. S. Broughton translates and comments⁴⁴³ on the Mylasian decree *de trapezitis* (*OGI* 515), and L. Robert establishes⁴⁴⁴ the Mylasian provenance of a dedication to Zeus Labraundos now in Alexandria. In an article⁴⁴⁵ on the organisation of the Carian κοινόν, H. Volkmann discusses a lease from Olymus (*BSA* xxii. 197) containing a mention of a ἱερέως [καὶ β]ασιλέως τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Καρ[ῶν]. Zingerle examines and restores⁴⁴⁶ a cult-regulation from Panamara (*SEG* iv. 267), H. Rolland re-edits⁴⁴⁷ a dedication from the same sanctuary (*BCH* xii. 490, No. 108) now in his possession at Brussels, and A. Laumonier studies⁴⁴⁸ the documents, chiefly of the second century A.D., relative to the priests of Hecate at Lagina, corrects or restores many of the texts and seeks to establish the chronology of the priests. I have already spoken (p. 54) of U. Wilcken's study of the important document of 204 B.C. found at Durdurkar, near Eriza (*OGI* 224). G. Jacopi reports⁴⁴⁹ on some of the epigraphical discoveries, among them the dedication of a portico in Tiberius' reign, made by the Italian excavators of Aphrodisias. H. Grégoire criticises⁴⁵⁰ N. H. Baynes' treatment of the Great Persecution and of Constantine in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, xii. 646 ff., and examines the inscription of Didyma (*Philol* xciii. 74 ff.) referring to Diocletian's consultation of the oracle in A.D. 302-3; in l. 8 he restores ο[κ]οίς in place of Rehm's θ[ε]οίς. L. Robert discusses⁴⁵¹ an epitaph from the same site, rejecting Zingerle's proposal to read Ἐρωσ Κιανέ for the Ἐρωσκιανέ of its editors, and gives⁴⁵² an improved reading of a fragmentary honorary decree of Miletus, now in the Louvre.⁴⁵³ A. Wilhelm examines⁴⁵⁴ the phraseology of a Prienian decree (*Iv Priene*, 113. 68), W. Kolbe restores⁴⁵⁵ καὶ Πυθίοις καὶ Λευκοφρυηνοῖς and καθ' ἑκάστ[ην] πανήγυριν in an important Amphictyonic decree engraved at Magnesia (*Iv Magn.* 91. 9 ff. = *SIG* 598), K. Latte enquires⁴⁵⁶ into the meaning of παλλακίς, παλλακεύω in inscriptions of Tralles, and L. Robert restores⁴⁵⁷ a Trallian text (*AM* xxvi. 237 f.).

In his notes⁴⁵⁸ on the Ephesian debtor-law of 85 B.C. (*SIG* 742) J. H. Oliver gives an explanation and translation of ll. 21-34 with some textual emendations, A. Wilhelm dis-

⁴³⁷ T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv. 499-916, 936-50.

⁴³⁸ *RevPhil* xiii. 97 ff., esp. 172 ff.; cf. summaries in *REG* lii. 496 ff.

⁴³⁹ VI, *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*, Manchester U.P., 1939; cf. *ClRev* liv. 59, *JRS* xxx. 112 f.

⁴⁴⁰ *Byz* xiv. 317.

⁴⁴¹ *ÖJh* xxxi, Beibl. 154 ff.; for Loryma see also *Mem. Am. Acad.* xv. 19.

⁴⁴² *ÖJh* xxxi, Beibl. 159 ff.

⁴⁴³ T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv. 895 ff.

⁴⁴⁴ *RevPhil* xiii. 183 f.

⁴⁴⁵ *PhW* lix. 1038 ff.

⁴⁴⁶ *ÖJh* xxxi, Beibl. 151 ff.

⁴⁴⁷ *RevPhil* xiii. 333 f.

⁴⁴⁸ *BCH* lxii. 251 ff.

⁴⁴⁹ *AA* 1938, 747 ff.; cf. *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* x. 13 f.

⁴⁵⁰ *Byz* xiv. 318 ff.

⁴⁵¹ *RevPhil* xiii. 174.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.* 201 f.

⁴⁵³ A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre; les textes inédits*, No. 57.

⁴⁵⁴ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 136.

⁴⁵⁵ *Hermes*, lxxv. 59 f.

⁴⁵⁶ *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxiii. 13 ff.

⁴⁵⁷ *Mélanges Dussaud*, 733.

⁴⁵⁸ *AJPh* lx. 468 ff.

cusses ⁴⁵⁹ an involved passage in ll. 395 ff. of the decree of Ephesus for Vibius Salutaris (*IBM* 481* = *Ephesos*, ii, p. 137), and F. Eichler investigates ⁴⁶⁰ the monument of Eutropius, who, probably about A.D. 400-25, paved the streets of Ephesus in marble. Of Wilhelm's treatment of a group of Colophonian texts I have already spoken (p. 75).⁴⁶¹ L. Robert traces ⁴⁶² to Smyrna an interesting fragment discovered at Selles-sur-Cher in France, and Wilhelm corrects ⁴⁶³ an epigram from Philadelphia.⁴⁶⁴

F. Hiller von Gaertringen describes ⁴⁶⁵ seven archaic sherds bearing painted or inscribed texts, most of them dedicatory in character, from Larissa in Aeolis. A. Schober's article ⁴⁶⁶ on Epigonus of Pergamum and early Pergamene art examines the extant signatures of that sculptor and confirms the restoration of his name in *Iv Perg.* 22 and 29; elsewhere ⁴⁶⁷ he discusses a fragmentary Pergamene base on which is engraved part of the name Attalus. T. R. S. Broughton translates and explains ⁴⁶⁸ the rescript *de collybo* sent by Hadrian to Pergamum (*OGI* 484). L. Robert adds ⁴⁶⁹ a twelfth dedication, now in Berlin (*AA* 1919, 110 f.), to the series which he has traced to the sanctuary of Zeus Olbios at Kavak in Mysia, and comments ⁴⁷⁰ on several inscriptions of Cyzicus, notably *IGRom* iv. 174, while A. Wilhelm suggests ⁴⁷¹ a new restoration of a Cyzicene epigram (*ibid.* 140) and gives parallels for its shortening of α.

Passing to BITHYNIA, we note Robert's vindication ⁴⁷² of the Chalcedonian origin of an inscribed relief now in Istanbul (Mendel, *Catalogue*, 977), his identification ⁴⁷³ of a fragment from Apollonia ad Rhyndacum (*AM* xxix. 311) as a *cursus honorum*, his discussion ⁴⁷⁴ of an epigram engraved on the cenotaph of a doctor found near Hadriani, and his assignment ⁴⁷⁵ of two grave-stelae of soldiers, now preserved at Istanbul (*ibid.* 891-2), to Heraclea-Perinthus rather than to Heraclea Pontica. A. M. Schneider and W. Karnapp append to their examination of the city wall of Nicaea a chapter ⁴⁷⁶ devoted to the forty-two inscriptions on or connected with that wall; four of these are Latin and thirty-eight Greek, of which twenty are published here, in some cases inadequately, for the first time and eighteen are new editions of texts previously known. Of the new documents the most interesting are Nos. 10, 13, 16 and 34.

The principal contribution of PHRYGIA lies in the new volume of the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* mentioned above, but some additions call for notice. A. Cameron's essay on confession-inscriptions contains ⁴⁷⁷ a detailed analysis of one text of this class (*MAMA* iv. 279) from Ortakeui and suggests ⁴⁷⁸ στήκω in place of ἑτηκω in another from the same neighbourhood (*SEG* vi. 252). L. Robert shows ⁴⁷⁹ that an epitaph in the Trau collection at Vienna (*ÖJh* xxix. 52 f.), recently published as new and of uncertain provenance, was found at Kula and appears in *CIG* 3445 and LeBas-Waddington, 703; he uses ⁴⁸⁰ an epitaph discovered at the village of Manai to provide an argument for reading Cabalitin, instead of Caralitin, paludem in Livy, xxxviii. 15, and discusses ⁴⁸¹ a dedicatory relief from Dorylaeum now in the Louvre, correcting and amplifying Dain's edition,⁴⁸² and an epitaph from the same site (*IGRom* iv. 530), in which he substitutes ⁴⁸³ δοῦ[λοι] π[ρ]ε[σ]β[υ]ται for his predecessors' δοῦ[λ]οι π[ρ]οσ[τ]άτ[η] ἐ[π]ὶ τ[ὸ] σ[τ]ῆθ[ος]; he also corrects and explains ⁴⁸⁴ the building-record of a ἡρώων at Acmonia (LeBas-Wadd. 751). W. M. Calder returns ⁴⁸⁵ to the vexed question of the reading and restoration of ll. 7-11 of the famous epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, bishop of

⁴⁵⁹ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 136 ff.

⁴⁶⁰ *WienAnz* 1939, 5 ff.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. *REG* lii. 497 ff.

⁴⁶² *RevPhil* xiii. 193 ff.

⁴⁶³ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 79.

⁴⁶⁴ Keil-Premstein, *Dritte Reise in Lydien*, 23, No. 22.

⁴⁶⁵ *AA* 1938, 371 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 497.

⁴⁶⁶ *Jdl* liii. 126 ff.

⁴⁶⁷ *RM* liv. 96 f.

⁴⁶⁸ T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv. 892 ff.

⁴⁶⁹ *RevPhil* xiii. 190 f.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 189 f.

⁴⁷¹ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 56.

⁴⁷² *RevPhil* xiii. 187 f.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.* 214 f.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 172 f.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 188 f.

⁴⁷⁶ *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea)*, Berlin, 1938, 43 ff.

⁴⁷⁷ *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxii. 155 ff.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 178 f.

⁴⁷⁹ *RevPhil* xiii. 191 ff.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 180 f.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.* 202 ff.

⁴⁸² *Op. cit.* 68.

⁴⁸³ *RevPhil* xiii. 207 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 513.

⁴⁸⁴ *Mélanges Dussaud*, 732 f.; see also *REG* lii. 511 f.

⁴⁸⁵ *JRS* xxix. 1 ff.

Hieropolis, and advocates the reading *συνομήμους* in l. 11. A. Wilhelm draws attention ⁴⁸⁶ to the 'prepositionless' genitive τοῦ τόπου in an epitaph of Hierapolis and collects examples of the use of the word βωμός to indicate 'grave,' and he also restores ⁴⁸⁷ an epigram of Laodicea ad Lycum (*AM* xxii. 358).

From GALATIA there is little to report save the second edition of E. Malcovati's useful edition ⁴⁸⁸ of the 'Monumentum Ancyranum,' which does not contain the Greek text, A. Solari's essay ⁴⁸⁹ on 'Il monumento politico di Augusto,' and D. B. King's paper, published ⁴⁹⁰ in résumé, maintaining that the Latin text of the *Res gestae* emphasises the republican nature of Augustus' government, while the Greek translation stresses rather the general imperial aspects of his work and the personal character of his rule. A. Wilhelm proposes ⁴⁹¹ a restoration of a metrical epitaph brought to light at Ancyra (*AM* lvi. 133, No. 20) and corrects ⁴⁹² an epitaph from Amastris. L. Robert points out ⁴⁹³ that an inscribed relief representing a funeral-banquet now preserved at Istanbul was first copied by G. Mendel on the site of Tieum (*BCH* xxv. 39, No. 187).

J. and L. Robert have some valuable notes ⁴⁹⁴ on the inscriptions of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia edited in G. Jacopi's *Esplorazioni e studi in Patlagonia e Cappadocia*, and L. Robert devotes particular attention ⁴⁹⁵ to four Cappadocian epitaphs in that collection, discovered at Tyana (No. 2), Colonia Faustiana (Nos. 31-2) and Archelais (No. 36), and shows that another epitaph from Tyana (No. 4) had been twice previously published.

He also corrects and explains ⁴⁹⁶ a text of Pinara in LYCIA (*TAM* ii. 509), shows ⁴⁹⁷ that an honorary inscription from Antiphellus (*BCH* xviii. 325) attests the influence exercised by Rhodes over Lycia between 188 and 167 B.C., when Lycia was under Rhodian domination, and traces ⁴⁹⁸ the history of an inscription in honour of the Emperor Tiberius seen complete at Andriace (*IGRom* iii. 721) and subsequently transported to Megiste (Castellorizo) in two fragments, imperfectly published as independent inscriptions in *IGRom* iii. 689 and 718.

A. Wilhelm examines ⁴⁹⁹ the diction of a decree of Termessus (*TAM* iii. 1. 4) and restores ⁵⁰⁰ an epigram from the same site (*ibid.* 584). A. Cameron explains ⁵⁰¹ a document of Oenoanda (Heberdey-Kalinka, No. 79), reading παιδίσκος in place of παῖδης and interpreting ἱερόδουλος as a person manumitted by the sacral process. E. Bignone defends ⁵⁰² his own view of the polemic directed against Aristotle in fragments 3 and 4 of the great inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda against the criticism of R. Philippson (*RivFil* lxvi. 235 ff.), which he dismisses as wholly untenable, and G. Capone-Braga supports ⁵⁰³ his arguments with fresh citations from Aristotle. P. Jacobsthal and A. H. M. Jones publish ⁵⁰⁴ two silver plaques, one bearing the figure of Zeus and the other that of Ares, said to have been found some four miles N. of Oenoanda; the Ares-plaque, with five inscriptions, was probably dedicated in A.D. 25 and repaired in 95, the Zeus-plaque, inscribed ἐπόησαν Μυαυγλέων ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπὸ δηναρίων τριακοσίων τριῶν σὺν χειροπονίαις καὶ πάσαις δαπάναις ἐπόησεν Γάιος, was apparently made in A.D. 70; but possibly all these dates should be put 110 years later.

E. Honigsmann takes several inscriptions of Corycus in CILICIA (*MAMA* iii. 445, 507, 563, 642) as the starting-point of his essay ⁵⁰⁵ on Καπερλατίνου κώμη, the modern Kafarlatha, and O. Gottwald edits ⁵⁰⁶ a puzzling Corycian epitaph, to which is apparently prefixed the word Σεισμοῖς, indicating the invocation of earthquakes against tomb-violators: J. and L.

⁴⁸⁶ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 124 ff.

⁴⁸⁷ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 63. For Apamea see *REG* lii. 508 ff.

⁴⁸⁸ *Res gestae divi Augusti*, Rome, 1938.

⁴⁸⁹ *Rendic. R. Acc. di Bologna*, IV. i. 69 ff.

⁴⁹⁰ *ProcAPA* lxix. xl f.

⁴⁹¹ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 140 ff.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.* 126 ff.

⁴⁹³ *RevPhil* xiii. 189; cf. *Études anatoliennes*, 283, No. 5.

⁴⁹⁴ *REG* lii. 514 ff., Nos. 432-7, 445-51.

⁴⁹⁵ *RevPhil* xiii. 210 ff.

⁴⁹⁶ *Mélanges Dussaud*, 731 f.

⁴⁹⁷ *RevPhil* xiii. 215 ff.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 181 ff.

⁴⁹⁹ *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 133 ff.

⁵⁰⁰ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 66.

⁵⁰¹ *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxii. 154 f.

⁵⁰² *Atene e Roma*, vi. 214 ff.

⁵⁰³ *Atene e Roma*, viii. 35 ff.

⁵⁰⁴ *JRS* xxx. 23 ff.

⁵⁰⁵ *Mélanges Dussaud*, 131 ff.

⁵⁰⁶ *ÖJh* xxxi, Beibl. 164 ff.

Robert point out ⁵⁰⁷ the difficulties raised by Gottwald's reading and interpretation and themselves made proposals for their solution.

Of CYPRUS there is more to report, ⁵⁰⁸ though T. B. Mitford's fruitful researches have been temporarily interrupted by military duties. He has, however, published ⁵⁰⁹ a group of seven newly discovered milestones from the western part of the island, dating between A.D. 198 and 355 or even later; of the new inscriptions one is Greek (No. 5), two are Latin (Nos. 4, 7) and the remainder are bilingual. Mitford also discusses the milestones previously known and shows the topographical value of these monuments. He has also published ⁵¹⁰ a new text in Cyprian syllabic script found near Palaipaphos (Kouklia), a dedication of Nicocles, King of Paphos and priest of Vanassa. The largest collection of new material is that contained in three appendices, edited by A. W. Persson, E. Ekman and E. Gjerstad respectively, in volume III of the monumental report of *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*.⁵¹¹ Appendix I is devoted to recent discoveries of Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, Appendix IV to seven texts from Vouni and two from Mersinaki written in the Cyprian syllabary, Appendix III to Greek inscriptions from Vouni (an Attic lekythos), Mersinaki (six texts, mostly votive, on marble or limestone) and Soli (eight on marble or stone and a Rhodian amphora-handle; among them are the foundation-record of a temple of Priapus erected by behest of Sarapis, the dedication of a statue of Ὑπνος to Aphrodite Oreia ἐπήκοος, and numerous fragments of an iambic hymn to Aphrodite). J. F. Daniel sees ⁵¹² in the two syllabic signs on three pithoi from Curium the word κύθε and concludes that Greek was spoken in Cyprus before the Trojan War, H. Pedersen discusses ⁵¹³ the Greek names in the bilingual inscription ⁵¹⁴ discovered at Amathus, L. Robert shows ⁵¹⁵ how an unpublished honorary inscription from Carpasea, mentioned by Mitford (*APF* xiii. 22), can be restored by the aid of, and itself aids in restoring, a passage relative to Cyprus in the list of Delphian θεωροδόκοι (*BCH* xlv. 4), G. Klaffenbach restores ⁵¹⁶ a fragment of an honorary decree in Nicosia Museum published by Mitford (*APF* xiii. 18, No. 6), and W. Otto's chapter on the state-cult of the Ptolemies contains ⁵¹⁷ an examination of an honorary inscription ⁵¹⁸ for Helenus ἀρχιερέα τῆς νήσου καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας θεᾶς Ἀφροδίτης Εὐεργέτιδος, erected at Salamis.

IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

The second instalment ⁵¹⁹ of J. H. Iliffe's 'Sigillata Wares in the Near East' contains a large number of potters' signatures and other stamps, both Greek and Latin. W. W. Tarn examines ⁵²⁰ a dedication, dated 166 B.C., from Babylon (*OGI* 253), showing its interest for Seleucid history. M. Engers deals ⁵²¹ with the letter addressed by the Parthian king Artabanus III to Susa (*SEG* vii. 1, Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 75) and discusses the restoration of ll. 8-10, 14. F. Cumont publishes ⁵²² a portrait head of a Parthian queen of ca. 1 B.C., probably Musa, found at Susa, on whose diadem is inscribed Ἀντίοχος Δρύαντος ἐποίησεν, and a sherd bearing a text written in ink, dated 43-2 B.C. and relating to the πρώτη ἐ[φημερία?]. A. Cameron agrees ⁵²³ with L. Robert (*Rev. Phil.* x. 137 ff.) and E. Schönbauer (*APF* xii. 214 ff.) in regarding the manumission-documents found at Susa (*SEG* vii. 15-26) as being of the Greek type.

L. Jalabert and R. Mousterde have issued a second volume of their valuable *corpus* of inscriptions in SYRIA,⁵²⁴ covering the regions of Chalcidice and Antiochene with the exception

⁵⁰⁷ *REG* lii. 519 ff.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. *REG* lii. 529 ff.

⁵⁰⁹ *JRS* xxix. 184 ff.

⁵¹⁰ *Anatolian Studies* (see note 434), 197 ff.

⁵¹¹ Stockholm, 1937, 601 ff., 621 ff., 633 ff.

⁵¹² *AJA* xliii. 102 f.

⁵¹³ *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist.* vi. 161 ff.

⁵¹⁴ *Εφημ* 1914, 1 ff.; cf. E. Sittig, *Zts. vergl. Sprachf.* lii. 194 ff.

⁵¹⁵ *RevPhil* xiii. 154 ff.

⁵¹⁶ *APF* xiii. 212 f.

⁵¹⁷ *SBMünchen*, 1939, 3. 13 f.

⁵¹⁸ *JHS* lvii. 35 f., *APF* xiii. 38, note 6. For Curium see *REG* lii. 530 f.

⁵¹⁹ *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* ix. 31 ff.; cf. *JRS* xxx. 124.

⁵²⁰ *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge U.P., 1938) 194 f.

⁵²¹ *Mnemosyne*, vii. 136 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 529.

⁵²² *CRAcInscr* 1939, 329 ff.

⁵²³ *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxii. 152 f.; cf. W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, 68 f.

⁵²⁴ *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, II, Paris, 1939.

of Antioch, Daphne and Seleucia, where excavations are still proceeding. The items comprised in this instalment number 446, among which are 84 *inedita*: epitaphs, building-inscriptions and Christian invocations form a large majority; all are in Greek only, with the exception of three Latin texts, eight Greco-Latin or Greco-Syriac bilinguals and one trilingual (No. 310). F. M. Heichelheim's account⁵²⁵ of the economics of Roman Syria notices and translates the chief epigraphical sources of our knowledge, such as the documents relating to the sales-monopoly at Bactocaece (*OGI* 262. 18-25) on p. 229, the billeting-regulations of Phaenae (*OGI* 609) on p. 242, the fiscal law of Palmyra (*OGI* 629) on pp. 250 ff., the Augustan inscription from Rhosus (see below) on pp. 243 f., and a large number of graffiti from Dura-Europus (*SEG* vii. 381 ff.), reflecting the commercial activities of that city, on pp. 186 ff., 205 ff. H. Seyrig's note⁵²⁶ on the Seleucid kings and the grant of ἀσυλία gives frequent references to inscriptions, but quotes no texts in full; R. Mouterde's essay⁵²⁷ on the Syrian deity Op examines a relief from Mashtala in Upper Syria⁵²⁸ inscribed μέγιστον ὦπ θεὸν κτλ. and publishes a *cippus* recently found at Yammouné, some eight miles N.W. of Ba'albek, dedicated by its sculptor τῷ θεῷ Ἡρεσεμῷ ὦ[π]. J. and L. Robert supply⁵²⁹ a useful critical survey of the texts contained in Krencker and Zschietzschmann's *Römische Tempel in Syrien* (cf. *JHS* lix. 277), and A. Alt investigates⁵³⁰ the chronological system followed in the temple-inscriptions of the Hermon district comprised in that work. Of especial importance is a further instalment⁵³¹ of H. Seyrig's 'Antiquités Syriennes,' in which he discusses (pp. 296 ff.) the worship of Zeus at Seleucia, adding (p. 301) three inscriptions from Kaboussié and Seleucia attesting the cult of Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος Νικηφόρος, and publishes (pp. 302 ff.) thirty Greek inscriptions from various sites—Tell Arr (N. of Aleppo), Hierapolis-Bambyce, Sakisler, Azaz, Seleucia Pieria, Antioch, and Palmyra—among which are a dedication Δι Βηλέω θεῷ Αδαδθελα (No. 1), a base from Hierapolis erected κατὰ κέλευσιν Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ κυρίου in honour of Hadrian by a λιβανόμ[αντις θε]ῶν (No. 2), a basalt relief of A.D. 233-4 dedicated to Hadad (No. 3), an altar of A.D. 114 dedicated Δι ἐπηκόω (No. 5), a group of interesting sepulchral inscriptions from Seleucia (No. 6), a building-record of A.D. 524 commemorating the repair of αἱ γέφυραι τῶν δύο Μελάντων καὶ τοῦ πέμπτου (No. 7), a marble base inscribed -- ἀρχιγεωκόρῳ διὰ βίου -- Διὸς κεραυνίου (No. 15), a *cippus* from Palmyra set up as a thankoffering to Zeus ἐπήκοος in A.D. 235-6 (No. 20), an ex-voto Δι ὑψίστῳ καὶ ἐπηκόῳ (No. 21), the record of an endowment for providing λαμπάδα κ[αὶ θ]υσίαν καὶ ἐπίδοσιν τῇ βουλῇ ἀίδιο[v] (No. 23), dedications from the temple of Bel at Palmyra (Nos. 24, 27, 28) and honorary inscriptions for Hadrian and for Antoninus Pius (Nos. 25, 26).

The famous dossier from Rhosus (cf. *JHS* lix. 277) is discussed by F. M. Heichelheim (see above), by M. Guarducci⁵³² with special emphasis on the decree annexed to the first letter (ll. 9 ff.) and the Lex Munatia-Aemilia of 42 B.C., on the basis of which the triumvirs granted to Seleucus and other veterans Roman *civitas* and *immunitas*, and by E. Schönbauer,⁵³³ who claims that the inscription brings positive proof of the nature of the legal status of newly enfranchised Hellenes; the Romans allowed to the citizens of Greek πόλεις on becoming Roman *cives* the option between the two statuses, under the influence of the Greek conception of ἰσοπολιτεία. 'This measure,' he concludes, 'throws afresh the most favourable light on Roman statecraft and explains for us the subsequent evolution by which the Hellenes became the Ῥωμαῖοι.'

No further inscriptions from Antioch have been published, but attention may be drawn to G. Downey's papers⁵³⁴ on the personification of abstract ideas, especially μεγαλοψυχία, and their representation in the Antioch mosaics of the second to the fifth century A.D. C. L. Woolley's excavation at Al Mina, Sueidia, near the mouth of the Orontes, has brought to

⁵²⁵ T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv. 121 ff.

⁵²⁶ *Syria*, xx. 35 ff.

⁵²⁷ *Mélanges Dussaud*, 391 ff.

⁵²⁸ *BZ* xiv. 57 f., F. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, 191 ff.

⁵²⁹ *REG* lii. 522 f.

⁵³⁰ *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lxii. 209 ff.

⁵³¹ *Syria*, xx. 296 ff.

⁵³² *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* xiv. 53 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliv. 128, *Stud. et doc.* v. 552 f.

⁵³³ *APF* xiii. 177 ff., esp. 191 ff.

⁵³⁴ *TransAPA* lxix. 349 ff., *Journal of the History of Ideas*, i. 112 f.; cf. G. M. A. Hanfmann, *AJA* xliii. 229 ff.

light ⁵³⁵ a fragmentary Greek text. L. Robert explains ⁵³⁶ a fragment (*RevBibl* xxv. 579), found at Aradus (Rouad), of the dedication in late Imperial times of a garden-precinct by [τὸ ἄ]μφοδὸν Διὸς Κρόνου. F. Mayence reports ⁵³⁷ on the sixth campaign of excavation at Apamea, which laid bare several inscribed mosaics, including those of a synagogue, and P. J. Riis's note ⁵³⁸ on the early Christian basilica at Epiphania (Hama) includes two Christian texts of the late sixth century A.D.

In an article ⁵³⁹ on boundary-stones marking the frontiers of Palmyrene, D. Schlumberger publishes three such stones with Latin inscriptions and also a Greek inscription, sadly defaced, in honour of Trajan, engraved in a *tabula ansata* on a column at Kheurbet el-Bilaas, on the road from Epiphania to Palmyra; his preliminary report on the excavations of Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi, on the Damascus-Palmyra road, describes ⁵⁴⁰ a broken lintel, now at Damascus, bearing three inscriptions in red paint, of which the first records the dedication of a monastery-gate. Of the Palmyrene fiscal law I have spoken above. J. Sauvaget's article on the Ghassanids and Sergiopolis discusses ⁵⁴¹ the *acclamatio* Νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Ἀλαμουνδάρου inscribed in the so-called 'church.' M. Dunand's definitive report ⁵⁴² on the excavations at Byblus includes a large number of amphora-handles and inscribed pithos-fragments, together with seven inscriptions on stone (pp. 18, 27, 39, 53, 57, 58, 98), of which the longest and most interesting is that on a base honouring ῥήτορα Ἀπαμέα τὸν προήγορον τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως. H. Seyrig publishes ⁵⁴³ a bronze hand in the Beyrouth Museum, bearing a votive inscription, M. Meurdrac describes ⁵⁴⁴ a Christian grave at Sidon without giving the text of its inscription, and E. Bickerman discusses ⁵⁴⁵ the oldest Greek inscription hitherto found in Phoenicia, a Sidonian epigram (Kaibel, *Epigr. graeca*, 932) commemorating Diotimus δικαστὴν νικήσαντα Νέμεια ἄρμασι, which gives us an insight into the progress of Hellenism in a Phoenician metropolis about 200 B.C.

M. I. Rostovtzeff, F. E. Brown and C. B. Welles edit a preliminary report ⁵⁴⁶ on the excavations at DURA-EUROPOS in 1933-4 and 1934-5, themselves publishing the epigraphical discoveries with the aid of C. C. Torrey and C. Hopkins. Of the 89 inscriptions here published seven are Latin, seven Palmyrene and three (Nos. 845, 913, 915) Greco-Palmyrene bilinguals; the remainder are Greek, derived from many sources—the Mithraeum (Nos. 845-69), the temples of Adonis (Nos. 870-85), Zeus θεός (No. 886-900), the Gaddé (Nos. 901-13) and Zeus κύριος (Nos. 914-5), the Necropolis Temple (Nos. 916-8), the painted shields (Nos. 919-26), and a miscellaneous group of graffiti (Nos. 927-33); of the chapters on coins, parchments and papyri (X, XI) I must not here speak, but attention may be called to a few of the most interesting inscriptions—the bilingual dedication of the Mithraeum in A.D. 168 (No. 845), the record of the 'making' of Mithras by a στρατηγὸς τοξοτῶν in A.D. 170-1 (No. 846), the dedication for the victory of an Emperor, probably Caracalla, with its curious blend of Greek, Roman and Syrian elements (No. 848), the benedictions of the artist who painted the Late Mithraeum (No. 853), of an ὀρθογράφος (No. 854) and of other members of the Mithraic church (Nos. 855-8), the record of the foundation of a chapel by Epinicus, κῆρυξ καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ, and of its restoration and extension in A.D. 116-7, after the departure of the Romans, who had carried off the ancient doors, by his son Alexander, who also erected an οἶκος in 118-9 (Nos. 867-9), the dedication of the temple of Adonis by a group of eight in A.D. 153 (No. 871) and of his altar in 175 (No. 872), the building-inscription of a περιστύλον καὶ οἶνοχυτεῖον εἰς τὰ Ἀδώνιδος in 181-2 by two Semites, one of whom is δεσμοφύλαξ (No. 875), the dedication of a temple-gateway in A.D. 114 (No. 886) by a

⁵³⁵ *JHS* lviii. 163.

⁵³⁶ *Mélanges Dussaud*, 729 ff.

⁵³⁷ *Bull. Mus. Roy. Brux.* x. 98 ff., *Ant. Class.* viii. 201 ff.;

cf. *MéBeyr* xxii. 132 f.

⁵³⁸ *Berytus*, iv. 117 f., 144.

⁵³⁹ *Syria*, xx. 43 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 688.

⁵⁴⁰ *Syria*, xx. 366 ff.

⁵⁴¹ *Byz* xiv. 117; cf. *REG* lii. 524.

⁵⁴² *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, Paris, 1939; cf. *MéBeyr* xxii.

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166 ff.

⁵⁴³ *Syria*, xx. 193 f.

⁵⁴⁴ *Berytus*, iv. 131.

⁵⁴⁵ *Mélanges Dussaud*, 91 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 523.

⁵⁴⁶ *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the seventh and eighth seasons*, Yale U.P., 1939; cf. *JournSav* 1940, 36 ff., *GGA* cci. 506 ff., *MéBeyr* xxii. 147 ff., *REG* lii. 524 f., *AJPh* lxii. 107 ff.

Seleucus, who in 120-1 ἀνήγειρεν Διὶ θεῶι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ θυρώματα καὶ τὴν τῶν εἰκόνων γ[ρ]αφήν πᾶσαν (No. 888), a painted dedication θεῶ Ἱεράβλω on an altar (No. 901), inscriptions of A.D. 28-9 and 31 in the temple of Zeus κύριος (Nos. 914-5), and a long but seriously mutilated thanksgiving and dedication of A.D. 173 (No. 918). Du Mesnil du Buisson, editing a Jewish liturgical parchment from Dura, discusses ⁵⁴⁷ a group of graffiti on a lintel, perhaps of a cook-shop, found near the synagogue, one of which is dated A.D. 240-1. To P. Roussel we owe the first edition ⁵⁴⁸ of a remarkable monument of Hierapolis-Bambyce (Membidj), now in the Damascus Museum, bearing the upper parts of four inscriptions, two of them metrical, commemorating Justinian's perpetual peace, concluded in A.D. 532, μεταξύ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν.

Of the inscriptions of GERASA, collected and edited by C. B. Welles (cf. *JHS* lix. 279), J. and L. Robert give a useful résumé, ⁵⁴⁹ and L. Robert corrects and interprets ⁵⁵⁰ the dedication of a statue of Justice (*SEG* vii. 847), two fragments relative to athletic contests at Gerasa (*ibid.* 899, 900) and the decree of the Dionysiac τεχνῖται in honour of their ἀγωνοθέτης T. Flavius Gerrhenus (*ibid.* 825), giving to the much discussed term θεατρίzeiv in l. 18 the sense 'jouer au théâtre.' W. F. Stinespring uses ⁵⁵¹ the inscription of the Triumphal Arch at Gerasa (Welles, No. 58) to settle the chronology of Hadrian's visit to Palestine and to show that he visited Jerash between December 10, 129 and autumn, 130. L. H. Vincent devotes an article ⁵⁵² to the θεὸς ἅγιος Πακειδᾶς of two Gerasene texts (Welles, Nos. 17, 18), examining the philology of the name and the religious concept it expresses in the Arabian pantheon, emphasising the Nabatean character of the god and concluding that Paqeidas and Hera are the equivalents of Zeus Helios and Hera Ourania.

C. C. McCown has found ⁵⁵³ at Marwa, near Irbid, in Transjordan a painted tomb bearing an epigram, now largely defaced, R. de Vaux edits ⁵⁵⁴ four short epitaphs and a fragment of inscribed mosaic from Mâ'in, and F. M. Abel ⁵⁵⁵ an epitaph of the sixth or seventh century from Dat Ras.

A. Alt comments ⁵⁵⁶ on inscriptions in the Palestinian section of *SEG* viii, M. Schwabe edits, ⁵⁵⁷ in Hebrew, a Greco-Jewish epigram found at Beth She'arim, J. and L. Robert discuss ⁵⁵⁸ the leaden *defixiones* from Scythopolis (Beisan) published by Youtie and Bonner (cf. *JHS* lix. 280), and E. Loukianoff's monograph on the basilica of Eleon on the Mount of Olives in Constantine's time describes ⁵⁵⁹ three mosaic texts of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., one the epitaph of a πρεσβ(ύτερος) καὶ ἡγούμενος at Jericho and two commemorative texts from the Mount of Olives. N. Glueck's explorations in Moab and Edom led to the discovery ⁵⁶⁰ of a Greek inscription of the sixth or seventh century from Kh. Khâldeh, N.E. of the head of the Gulf of Aqaba, and G. E. Kirk's analysis ⁵⁶¹ of the formulae appearing on early Christian graves in S. Palestine calls attention to the striking divergence in the usage of neighbouring towns, due to the varying elements in their population or to different cultural influences affecting them.

X. AFRICA.

The section of my survey which relates to Egypt and Nubia appears in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxvii. 153 ff.

Vol. IX of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* is devoted to the inscriptions of North Africa, with the exception of those from Egypt and Nubia already collected in Vol. VIII, and to those of uncertain provenance. Unfortunately, the war has retarded the issue of the

⁵⁴⁷ *Syria*, xx. 28 ff.; for Dura see also T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, iv. 186 ff., 205 ff.

⁵⁴⁸ *Mélanges Dussaud*, 367 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 521.

⁵⁴⁹ *REG* lii. 526 ff.

⁵⁵⁰ *Mélanges Dussaud*, 731 ff.

⁵⁵¹ *JAOS* lix. 360 ff.

⁵⁵² *RevBibl* xlix. 98 ff.; cf. *CRAI* 1939, 433.

⁵⁵³ *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* ix. 27 f.

⁵⁵⁴ *RevBibl* xlviii. 78 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 528.

⁵⁵⁵ *RevBibl* xlvii. 559 f.

⁵⁵⁶ *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lxii. 161 ff.

⁵⁵⁷ *BullJewPES* vi/vii. 1 ff.; cf. *REG* lii. 525.

⁵⁵⁸ *REG* lii. 449 f.

⁵⁵⁹ *Mém. Inst. Ég.* xlii. 25 f., 32.

⁵⁶⁰ *AnnASOR* xviii/xix. 18.

⁵⁶¹ *Pal. Expl. Qu.* 1939, 181 ff.

second fascicule, but the first ⁵⁶² was published in May, 1939, and contained 712 items, all of them from Cyrenaica: of these, Cyrene claims 342, Ptolemais (Tolmeta) 58, and Teuchira-Arsinoe (Tocra) 303. In this collection the inscriptions of greatest general interest are a group of important political (Nos. 1-9) and religious (No. 72) documents from Cyrene and the *constitutio* of Anastasius from Ptolemais (No. 356). No further inscriptions from this district have appeared, but marked progress has been made with the restoration and interpretation of some well-known texts. L. Robert has improved ⁵⁶³ in a number of points the text of the decree honouring Barcaeus, priest of Augustus (No. 4); a Cyrenean decree, to which are appended a letter and a rescript of 'King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra' (No. 5), has been re-examined ⁵⁶⁴ by W. Otto, who regards Oliverio's assignment of the dossier to 108 B.C., in the reign of Ptolemy X Soter II, as assured, and by P. Roussel, ⁵⁶⁵ who, in view of the relations existing between Egypt and Cyrene towards the close of the second century B.C., challenges Oliverio's view and maintains that column II certainly, and column I in all probability, date from the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor; he further discusses ⁵⁶⁶ an inscription (No. 62) erected at Cyrene in honour of Ptolemy X Soter II by Stulus ὁ ἀρχιερέας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγίων. E. Volterra has dealt ⁵⁶⁷ with the 'Testament of Ptolemy the Younger' (No. 7) in connexion with his historical and juristic study of the will of Ptolemy Alexander II of Egypt. F. de Visscher examines ⁵⁶⁸ the system of liturgies applied to newly enfranchised Roman citizens under the terms of the third of the Augustan edicts found at Cyrene (No. 8, ll. 55-62), which throws light on the relations of provincials in the Greek provinces of the Empire to the cities of their origin after having been admitted to the Roman *civitas*; A. Wilhelm interprets ⁵⁶⁹ the Cyrenean epigram (No. 63) of A.D. 2 praising the priest Pausanias for his services in the Marmaric War, and proposes to read καίρους instead of καίροθι in its last line, and M. P. Charlesworth includes ⁵⁷⁰ among his documentary sources for Nero's reign the bilingual record of Nero's restoration to the Roman people of lands occupied by private citizens (No. 352).

A metrical epitaph from Lambaesis commemorating a military doctor from Nicomedia is interpreted ⁵⁷¹ by L. Robert, and F. Icard edits ⁵⁷² a further series of seals and leaden *bullae* from Carthage, nineteen of which bear Greek legends.

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⁵⁶² Leyden, 1938 (sic).

⁵⁶³ *RevPhil* xiii. 156 ff.

⁵⁶⁴ *SBMünchen*, 1939, 3. 16 ff.; cf. *CIWeekly*, xxxiii. 279 ff.

⁵⁶⁵ *REA* xli. 5 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 486 f., *REG* lii. 535.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 15 f.

⁵⁶⁷ *Bull. Inst. Ég.* xxi. 105 ff.

⁵⁶⁸ *CRAIscr* 1939, 111 ff.

⁵⁶⁹ *Wien. Stud.* lvi. 71 f.

⁵⁷⁰ *Op. cit.* (see note 38), 34.

⁵⁷¹ *RevPhil* xiii. 166 ff.

⁵⁷² *Rev. Tunis.* 1938, 221 ff. In No. 10 ἀποκρισίου should be read in place of the editor's suggested ἀποκρισίου.

NOTES

The Alleged Fortifications of Cnossus.—The belief that Minoan Crete relied on ships for defence is supported by the obvious absence of fortifications at almost all known sites. There are, however, a few works of early date (Middle Minoan) which have been classed as defensive. One of them is a 'Cyclopean' wall round the top of Mt. Juktas,¹ which seems to have formed a religious enclosure around the tomb of Zeus; it cannot be a fortification because it runs for a third of its course beside a 2000-foot precipice, where it is built just as strongly as elsewhere, and it never actually meets the cliff. The other remains are at Cnossus, and it is the contention of this paper that their military aspect has been overstated.

Stretches of wall at various points around the palace give the impression that it was in MM I times enclosed by a boundary wall.² Its thickness—slightly over one metre—proves that it cannot have been a normal enceinte with wall-walk and parapet. In places, however, it forms the

ished to ground level late in MM II, to allow a group of new apartments to occupy its site. All that survives therefore is a part of the N. and W. walls, joining at approximately a right-angle, and the complete foundations, which have rounded corners. The base of the upper wall consists of fine large blocks, the foundations of rubble. Six pits penetrate right through the foundations, which are 7 metres deep.

Evans called this building the 'Keep' of the oldest palace, because the massive construction reminded him of an early Norman castle. But only the foundations are massive; the upper wall was no thicker than many another at Cnossus. Its north face varied in width because it has an irregular external outline at base; presumably it was intended to be buried to the present top. The west wall, which is stepped up, can give a better indication of the thickness of the lost superstructure, and its cross-section measures about 1.30 m. or just over 4 feet. The comparison with Norman keeps is unfortunate, for their walls are usually 8 to 12 ft. thick, and sometimes exceed 20 ft.⁴

The question of whether the 'Keep' served a military purpose must therefore rest upon its plan, together with its size. It measured roughly 12 m. N.-S., by 11-15 m. W.-E.,⁵ and so would compare with rather small keeps (e.g. Portchester) or with the largest tower-residences of the late Middle Ages. The roof space could accommodate several score of defenders. Unless the height were so great that scaling-ladders could not reach the parapet, one would therefore expect the outline to be so designed as to concentrate the strength of the defence at any threatened point, and to reduce 'dead ground' to a minimum, particular care being taken to offer an enemy no shelter behind salient masses of the structure. Those have always been main preoccupations in all countries when building isolated works of defence. But the Cnossus plan would help an enemy to a degree which could not fail to strike anybody, however primitive, who contemplated entrusting his life to these walls. The most glaring case is that of the N.E. corner, which was apparently recessed on a 2 m. frontage to a depth of over a metre. Thus fire from the longer stretch of the east wall was blanketed, and the defence would be reduced to not more than 3 (or at most 4) men posted directly above. Again the recessing of the S. part of the W. side means the loss of 40% of the fire-power which could otherwise be directed against an enemy attacking the N. part of this side. Yet the North was presumably the direction from which a hostile force would approach.

It would therefore seem that the so-called 'keep' was not intended for defence. Perhaps a study of the foundations will give the clue to interpret its purpose or purposes—which may have differed on various levels. The pits beneath the floor were explained soon after their discovery as dungeons, but a depth of 7 m. must be held excessive for that function, and prisoners could have dug their way through the clay at the bottom. Evans eventually decided they were meant for storage. Pendlebury concluded they were cisterns, because some at least have an impervious lining of plaster or cement. Another argument in favour

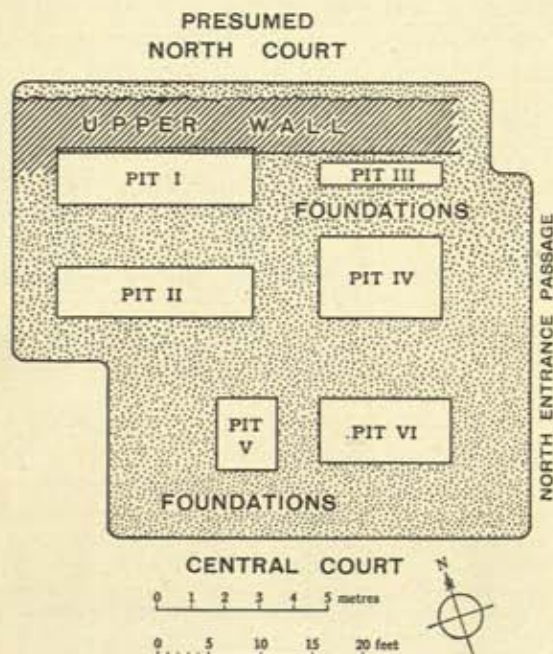


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF 'KEEP', CNOSSUS.

edge of a terrace, where it might be considered defensive but for the fact that the ramp, which gave access to it from without, approaches it just left of a corner, so that fire from the terrace would be restricted to one side of an attacking force, and that the side on which shields were worn.

It remains to consider a succession of buildings by the North Entrance, which faced the sea and the greatest potential dangers. The oldest was apparently an isolated block, stretching between the North and Central Courts, and dates soon after the beginning of the MM I period, perhaps to the 20th century B.C. (Fig. 1).³ It was demol-

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 156, fig. 113 a, b. A fuller publication would be useful.

² *Ibid.* iv, 1, p. 49, figs. 30, 34.

³ *Ibid.* i, p. 136, figs. 100, 101; cf. p. 450, and iii, p. 6. An early plan (*BSA*, ix, 1902-3, fig. 11) gives the dimensions of Pits I-IV but not of V and VI, which are shown in different positions and of different shapes from the final plan. The dimensions given for the first pits discovered are discrepant from the original reports (previous vol.

p. 36). A schematic plan of the MM I palace (Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete*, fig. 13) is useful, though conjectural.

⁴ Their prototype at Langeais—begun in 994, the oldest known defensive tower of the Middle Ages—has a thickness, however, of only 3½ ft. It is the only survivor of at least 22 forts built by the same Count of Anjou for use in a constant struggle, and may be dismissed as a garrison post rather than a castle (E. S. Armitage, *Early Norman Castles*, p. 353).

⁵ The foundations (ignoring a slight batter, omitted on the accompanying plan) measure about 13 × 12-15 m. Evans says 15 × 20, by some slip? (*op. cit.* i, p. 138).

of that view may be deduced from the fact that they are deep enough—just deep enough, to judge by imperfect data—to penetrate the older deposits through which they are sunk.⁶ For the foundations, in which the pits form gaps, go through a slope consisting of Neolithic and (to a lesser extent) Early Minoan strata, mostly resulting from the decay of mud-brick houses, and rest upon a bed of red potter's clay. If the pits were really cisterns, the exceptional depth is no longer a mystery, because its object would be to prevent seepage in the loose Neolithic deposit and get an impervious base.

The pits cover a total area of roughly 37 square metres so that their capacity would exceed 50,000 gallons, if all were given an impervious lining. They would hold enough water for several hundred persons without replenishment in the dry months of summer. On the other hand the rainfall on the roof would supply no more than 30% of capacity in a whole year, unless the climate has changed;⁷ most of the water would have to be carried to the spot, unless pipes could be led from neighbouring buildings (e.g. across the Entrance Passage). Perhaps the reason why the pits were so soon afterwards filled with earth, in the MM II reconstruction of the neighbourhood, may have been this awkwardness of inadequate gravity-supply. It is however likely that some of the pits were not meant for cisterns but merely lightened the foundations; that is almost demonstrably the case with the smallest of them.

This pit by the N.E. corner, III, is much smaller than the others, and its area was gratuitously diminished by setting it back from the north wall. On the S. too it may have failed to reach the partition which can plausibly be restored running straight from between Pits I and II to the E. wall. If however this little pit was designed simply to save on the foundations, then there must have been some compelling motive for not enhancing the economy by further recessing the N.E. corner over its site. Perhaps one of the entrances to the building lay in the recess at the east end of the pit, which in that case could not be used as a cistern because a draw-hole in the fairway would be impracticable.

It is tempting to restore another entrance in the S.W. recess, which still formed a separate room off the Central Court on the plan of MM II;⁸ the doorway here would have opened S. in the salient face because this recess is so much deeper than that of the N.E. corner. A passage could have linked these two doorways, cutting across Pit II and running the length of I and III; the right-angle turn involved would conform to the usual Minoan design for corridors and entrances. In spite of the excavator's belief that his 'Keep' was detached, I suspect it formed an entrance.

The expanses of solid foundation between pits must have been largely weight-bearing, otherwise there would be no reason to build them, and the gaps between them are so narrow that the object cannot have been merely to carry the supports of a roof. There must have been an upper floor, resting on wooden columns, stone pillars or cross-walls, set upon the various pieces of foundation. Two sets of stairs would be needed to reach the roof and may have been contrived in the centre of the foundations and in the S.W. corner, where there is an exceptionally wide expanse; its purpose cannot be otherwise explained since the slope of the ground exerts a northward thrust alone (which incidentally accounts for the slight extra solidity of the north wall at base). There would be need for a light-well in those portions of the groundfloor which could not be served by fanlights or windows, and Pit V seems the most convenient site for it.

The so-called 'Keep' then may be interpreted as a subterranean reservoir, from which water could be drawn

from mouths in the groundfloor, which consisted of small rooms accessible from both the N. court and the Central Court of the palace, while an upper floor comprised larger rooms and conceivably a portico against the N. face, open to the sea breeze.⁹ It was not a military building but purely utilitarian, so far as our imperfect evidence can show. Its elevation can be visualised from the faience tablets of the 'Town Mosaic', a few centuries later (? end of MM II).¹⁰ A number of these models of buildings show a similar wall face of large blocks; in the usual oriental manner, most have few, if any, windows, and those often set high above ground, but some had light-wells, to judge by the lantern-like attics of the type which has always been used in Egypt to cover the air-shafts which there correspond to light-wells. In passing, it may be said that Evans took these models to represent a fortified town and distinguished some of them as towers of the city wall. These include one with a large window on the ground-floor, another with a large window level with the top of the door, another with a row of four doors occupying the entire facade—none of which can represent truly defensive buildings. Certain models without doors, which he interpreted as house-backs facing the city wall, might equally depict portions of a rambling building like the palaces of Crete.

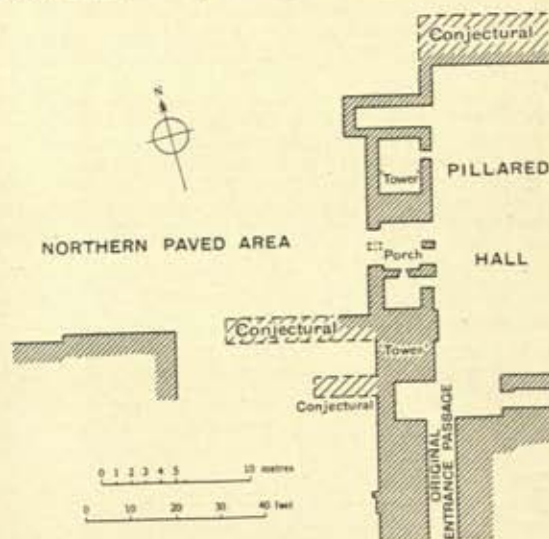


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF NORTH ENTRANCE, CNOSSUS.

He has also claimed that the North Entrance at Knossos always showed a tendency towards fortifications.¹¹ The sketch (Fig. 2) shows the most defensive-looking scheme, a late extension before the old Entrance Passage. It is clear that a slightly older 'tower', forming the south side of the pylon-like gateway, lies too far back to help in defending the approach, while its counterpart beyond the gateway is blanketed on the north by a salient too short and narrow to have been designed as a serious flanking-work. The whole entrance seems to be meant only to impress, like the monumental gateways of modern buildings that fulfil the same functions of palace or government offices. I believe that the previous forms of this entrance, when it comprised a passage between terraces bearing porticos, likewise had only an incidental military value.

To sum up, there may have been Minoan fortifications but no one has yet recorded any.¹²

A. W. LAWRENCE

⁶ In the West Court 7.75 deep at one point, over 9 m. at another (*ibid.* i, p. 34, fig. 4). Evans speaks of the Keep being cut in 'the Neolithic cliff', and of the ground falling away around there (pp. 136, 149).

⁷ Annual rainfall 20 in. or 50 cm.; practically nil from June to August and trifling in September. The roof could catch 75 (150 × 0.50) cubic metres and the pits could hold 260 (37 × 7) cu. m.

⁸ *Ibid.* i, fig. 152.

⁹ The foundations between Pits I to II and III to IV suggest a partition on the first as well as the ground floor.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i, p. 307, figs. 223, 226.

¹¹ *Ibid.* i, p. 393, figs. 152, 286; ii, 1, plan A.

¹² Evans and Pendlebury have noted a number of way-side police-posts or 'forts', but there is no clear indication that any of them had a more military character than the average modern gendarmerie-post.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

A History of Cyprus. Vol. I: To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart. By SIR GEORGE HILL. Pp. xvii + 352; pl. 16 + 2 maps and 1 text fig. Cambridge: University Press, 1940. 25s.

This handsome volume is the first of a three-volume history of Cyprus, and carries the story from the earliest times to the English conquest by Richard Coeur-de-lion. It contains some excellent illustrations, three good maps, an index and copious and elaborate footnotes. The special difficulties attending such a work have been clearly seen by the author himself: Cyprus has really had no continuous history of its own, but has lain always on the fringe of greater Powers; a certain discontinuity in treating of its history can therefore hardly be avoided. Each chapter must for this reason be regarded separately, and the author has made each of them extremely interesting. Many details, evidence of the writer's care and learning, have been consigned to the notes: the text is in this way readable as well as authoritative. The book begins with a chapter on the land, and then goes on to the Bronze Age. The author's eminence as an archaeologist is a sure guarantee for the excellence of all this part of the work. In spite of the great amount that has been written about Cyprus, this is the first attempt at its complete history on any considerable scale, and is therefore to be very warmly welcomed. It should certainly be put into modern Greek, and be made accessible to the Cypriots, who have always a strong interest in the history of their island. The next volume, which will begin with the Lusignan period, when Cyprus had a history really of its own, will be eagerly looked for.

The appearance of the book is worthy of the press which has issued it and of the scholarship which has gone to its writing.

R. M. D.

Κυπριακά Σπουδαία. Vols. I and II. Edited by A. AIMILIANIDES, P. DIKAIOS, A. INDIANOS and K. SPYRIDAKIS. Vol. I, pp. xi + 187; Vol. II, pp. 250; pl. 2, 5. Leukosia: Society of Cyprian Studies. 1937, 1938.

These are the first two annual volumes of the *Journal* of a young society—the Society of Cyprian Studies—to which we wish to give a hearty welcome. There is an editorial board of four scholars, well known for their interest in the various periods of Cypriot culture—A. Aimilianides, P. Dikaïos, A. Indianos and K. Spyridakis. We can do no more here than indicate some of the articles, without derogation from the value of others which lack of space compels us to omit. Readers of the *JHS* will probably be most interested in the contributions of Dikaïos on Neolithic civilisation in Cyprus, of Spyridakis on the ancient constitution of Idalion and on the Κοινὸν Κυπρίων, and of Sotiriou on that very puzzling Byzantine church of St. Barnabas and the Tomb of the Apostle near Salamis. Aimilianides has a useful account of the privileges and capitulations accorded to foreigners from Byzantine to modern times, and what we judge to be a more important study of the laws affecting mixed marriages. Korallia Loizidou defends—not very successfully, we think—the traditional association of Saint Hilarion I with the mountain sanctuary of that name in the Kerynia range. Lastly we may mention two articles by Indianos, of which the first gives the text of two pages of a MS. in the Marciana continuing the Chronicle of George Bustron down to 1589. In his commentary the editor gives chronological lists of the various visitations of nature—locusts, drought, plague and earthquake—from which the island has suffered. Incidentally he criticises the translation previously published by Loizos Philippou of a passage from the diary of the secretary who accompanied Lala Mustafa on his expedition against Cyprus in 1570. But, as a Turkish scholar who has examined the text of the original makes clear to us, Philippou's translation is correct, only he has

tacitly corrected a misprint of 16 for 26 Muharram. The translation given by Indianos, when confronted with the facts, makes nonsense. The second article is a useful account of the Dragomans of Cyprus under Turkish rule. Those who are interested in icons will be glad to find here something like a correct account of one of the latest specimens of that art, with the portraits of Hadji Joseph and his wife Anna, which has been the victim of much misinterpretation by the writers, Peristianes, Jeffery and Talbot Rice, who have hitherto dealt with it. Its date Indianos reads as 1776. We have mentioned enough to show the varied and interesting nature of the contents of these two volumes, which justify the hope that the Society may resume its activities before long. It may not be improper to say here that the annual subscription was fixed at 10s.

G. H.

Sparta. By P. ROUSSEL. Pp. 216; pls. 16. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1939.

In the compass of little more than two hundred pages Professor Roussel traces the course of Spartan history from its dawn to its decline, adding a glimpse of the afterglow in the city's revived prosperity under the Roman Empire. Not altogether an easy task, even for a historian so well qualified as is the author, but it has been performed with striking success. In fact it would be difficult to imagine a better brief survey of the Spartan achievement; and readers, however much, or little, they knew of the subject beforehand, will appreciate in particular the vigour and lucidity of the narrative, the avoidance of controversial minutiae and the refusal to draw parallels for or from modern systems of government.

Familiar difficulties such as the Lyncurgus question, the origins of the Ephorate and the reasons for the decline of Sparta in the early fourth century, are treated with commendable clarity and restraint. The geographical background and the artistic achievement are given due emphasis, and the well-chosen illustrations include many delightful views of Laconian and Messenian landscape, and some typical products of archaic Laconian art. The reviewer will not, perhaps, be the only reader to wonder why the scene on the Arcesilas vase is described as the weighing and shipment of wool. When circumstances permit this little volume to be readily available in this country, its merits will, we feel sure, be rapidly and widely appreciated.

A. M. W.

The Local Historians of Attica (Philological Monographs XI). By L. PEARSON. Pp. xii + 167. Philadelphia: American Philological Association, 1942. \$2.25.

It is strange that during the thirty years that have now elapsed since the late Dr. E. M. Walker published his lectures on the Oxyrhynchus Historian, and Professor F. E. Adcock contributed to *Klio* his article on the Solonian chapters of the *Ath. Pol.*, practically nothing has appeared in English from either side of the Atlantic concerning the Fragments of the Greek Historians. Mr. G. L. Barber's study of Ephorus (1935) was a welcome exception. Rather than seek reasons for this phenomenon, let us note with approval that a young Yale graduate, Professor L. Pearson, has stepped boldly and successfully into the breach, and has followed up his recent monograph on the Ionian Historians with a comprehensive study of the local Historians of Attica. This undertaking is to be welcomed for two reasons in particular: the author collects and draws attention to the many new fragments of *Attides* brought to light or identified since the publication of the *F.H.G.* by the brothers Müller in 1841-70 (Didot), but not yet included in Jacoby's *Fragmente*; and he re-examines the validity of the view that the development and continuity of the 'Attid' tradition is to be regarded as an established fact of literary history.

These two objectives are successfully attained: the history of the *Atthis* is traced from Hellenicus down to Philochorus and Ister, in six chapters, to each of which is appended a bibliography which will be of real service to the studious; and a final chapter deals with the *Atthis*-tradition in the light of the surviving material. Here the author gives us a timely reminder of the uneven, and often slender, nature of the evidence for the historical methods of many of these writers, and points out that whereas there is no real evidence to support the view (put forward by Wilamowitz) that there was a lost *Atthis*, later than that of Hellenicus, which established a fixed and semi-authoritative version of Athenian political history for the later 'Atthidographers,' there was, on the whole, a continuous literary tradition which the local historians kept alive with a certain degree of progress and development. Their characteristic interest in religious matters he traces back to Hellenicus.

Among many other topics profitably discussed, which can only be briefly noticed here, are the importance of Thucydides in keeping alive the traditions of local Attic history, and the presumable identity of Androtion the historian with the opponent of Demosthenes; and the author's reconstruction of the personality of Philochorus and of his contribution to Attic history is a particularly convincing and helpful piece of work. Here is, in fact, a well-planned and pleasantly written work of solid learning, which leads us to hope for further activities by the author in this field of research and interpretation. Three misprints which I have noticed will not seriously mislead his many readers (p. 26, note 90, 'G.F. Hicks 41' should be 'Hicks-Hill 53'; p. 86, *med.*, gives an incorrect reference to an early article by De Sanctis on the *Ath. Pol.*; p. 125, l. 1, 424-5 should of course be 424-3).

A. M. W.

The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens. By W. K.

PRITCHETT and B. D. MERITT. Pp. xxxv + 158; 15 text figs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940.

Confronted by the statement in the 'Foreword' that 'this is essentially a book for specialists,' a reviewer who can make no claim to that title is at a grave disadvantage. He can, however, assert with some confidence that any student at all interested in the intricate problems of the chronology of Hellenistic Athens will be well on the way to qualifying as a 'specialist' when he has mastered the contents of this volume. Such a student will probably be aware that in the twelve years that have now elapsed since the appearance of Dinsmoor's monumental work on the Athenian Archons, the American excavations of the Agora at Athens have yielded an astoundingly rich harvest of inscriptions of the Hellenistic period; and that these texts, as interpreted by Dow, Ferguson, Meritt, Pritchett, Schweigert and others, have enabled many gaps to be filled in our knowledge of the lists of Archons and Secretaries, as well as of the actual details of the Athenian calendar. He may even have been able to consult Dinsmoor's recent work *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (1939; cf. the review in *JHS* lxi. 41).

The present work deals with many aspects of the problems, paying special attention to the evidence to be obtained for the working of the tribal cycles by a re-examination of the inventories of the sanctuary of Asklepios (*IG* II² 1532-39), and establishes beyond doubt that for the priests of Asklepios 'the controlling cycles were not those of the priests themselves, but rather in every instance those of the Secretaries of the Council' (p. 37); this control is also established for the inventory of the Chalkotheke (*IG* II² 120) now known to belong to 353-2 B.C., a year which is shown to have nothing to do with the beginning or end of a tribal cycle of the Secretaries of the Treasurers of Athena. The tribal cycles of the last-named officials in the fourth century are again discussed (pp. 37-42), with conclusions that for the most part support Ferguson's arrangement, namely, from 401-0 B.C. a reversed rotation, broken midway through the second cycle in 386-5, then three cycles in 'allotted' order (for which the evidence is still, admittedly, very scanty), followed by a return to forward rotation, decided on in 356-5, the first year of the

fifth Metonic cycle, and instituted in the following year with the tribes next in official order to those that happened to be in office in 356-5. It is certainly significant that this change proves to be equally valid for the Secretaries of the Council and the Priests of Asklepios.

The other contribution of outstanding value for fourth-century chronology is the discussion (ch. I) of the cycles of 307-6 B.C., when the 'democratic' form for the preamble to decrees was restored. After a careful reconsideration of all the existing documents the conclusion reached is that whilst the year began as 'ordinary' with a twelve-fold Prytany division, it was decided, during Gamelion, to add an extra month, making the year intercalary, and the extra thirty days so produced were distributed among the last six Prytanies. The new tribes Antigonis and Demetrias were ready to function by the middle of the year, and were inserted as Prytanies VII and VIII.

A brief glance at the discussion of the many disputed dates for third-century Archons in the light of new documents or improved readings shows that Polyeuktos (δὲ μάλα πολλὰ πλάγχθη) is not after all allowed to rest in the haven of 243-2 (cf. *Hesp.* VII. 136 f.), but returns to 249-8, as fixed by Dinsmoor (in 1931), Kydenor moving in to the vacated year; that the long-debated demotic of the Secretary of Diomedon's year (now 247-6) is restored as '[Α]ντιγονίδης' (III); (the authors reject the Λ and disbelieve in the Δ propounded by other authorities, but believe that a tendency to crowding of the letters justifies the restoration of an eleven-letter demotic in the ten spaces). Another wandering Archon, Peithidemos, comes to rest in 267-6 (which will no doubt win Dr. Tam's approval). For the still mysterious break in the cycles in 247, which the authors (p. v) consider 'an established fact,' 'having no good reason to offer, they have refrained from giving any . . . being confident that further study will find the answer.'

These, and many other newly established dates both in the third and second centuries, are all set out in the Table (pp. xv-xxxv), which gives the lists of Archons, Secretaries, and (as far as possible) Priests of Asklepios from 307-6 to 101-0 B.C., accompanied by the essential literary and epigraphic references.

It is needless to illustrate further the far-reaching importance of this book, which displays all the lucidity of exposition and precise documentation that we expect from Professor Meritt and his collaborators. Above all, it commends itself by its integrity of method, for the reader never feels that evidence is being strained to fit in with a preconceived conclusion, and difficulties are frankly faced and allowed their full weight. It is admirably indexed and printed (one misprint occurs on p. 19, [ἡπερολεῖσθαι]), and is a pleasure to handle.

A. M. W.

Epigraphica Attica (Martin Classical Lectures, IX).

By B. D. MERITT. Pp. x + 157; 22 text figs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Humphrey Milford), 1940. 11s. 6d.

Professor Meritt has here reprinted, with the addition of notes and illustrations, four lectures delivered at Oberlin College, Ohio, in 1939. His main purpose, which is achieved with his customary lucidity of presentation and an apt choice of examples, all taken (as his title implies) from Attic documents, is to demonstrate how the well-trained epigraphist goes about his task. In other words, to show what are the essential requirements of the science and technique of epigraphy in the light of modern methods and of the standards of modern scholarship.

In four chapters he deals with Reading, Reconstruction, Lettering and Restoration: in the first he emphasises the value and the limitations of photographs and squeezes as an aid to the establishment of a corroded or fragmentary text; in the second he defines and illustrates the meaning of 'architectural' epigraphy, i.e., the treatment of inscriptions as three-dimensional monuments, whether or no they are engraved on more than one face of the stone; in the third he provides a well-balanced discussion of the question of recognising the hand of the same stone-cutter in different texts; and in his final chapter he handles the more con-

troverial topic of the extent to which conjectural restoration is permissible in filling lacunae in fragmentary texts. Here he stands forward boldly in favour of the practice, subject to the necessary limitations imposed by the nature of the contents and the architectural requirements of the stone. He effectively reminds us that epigraphy is an essentially progressive and co-operative science, and that the proposal of a reasonable restoration may lead, sooner or later, to a more satisfactory, and perhaps to a completely convincing one. Professor Meritt makes admirable use, in support of his plea, of the small fragment from col. I. of the Τάξις Φόρου, of which Boeckh first tried to restore the few surviving letters to form a continuous rubric; and, which, after a century of progressive effort, to which he himself has effectively contributed, has now been identified beyond any possibility of doubt, as containing half a dozen Carian place-names. This is by no means the least valuable part of his small book, from which epigraphists will learn with profit by what laborious steps the author has made himself a master in the field of Attic epigraphy.

A. M. W.

Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Fasc. 272). By LOUIS ROBERT. Pp. 343; pl. 16. Paris: Champion, 1938. 80 fr.

It would be impossible to convey an adequate idea of the rich and varied contents of this volume within the limits of a short notice, but for the fact that some of the principal documents discussed in it have already been mentioned in Mr. M. N. Tod's *Progress of Greek Epigraphy, 1937-38* (*JHS* lix. 241 ff.). In the circumstances a brief survey of the contents, with references to the items included in that article, and with the addition of a few comments, will perhaps prove acceptable.

Ch. I (pp. 7-112; for §§ 1-4 and 6, Tod, p. 261). We may note also (a) some valuable corrections and elucidations to the long list of victors in the fourth celebration of the 'Pythian' games at Thessalonika in A.D. 252 (published by S. Pelekidēs, 1936); (b) the corrected interpretation of a decree from the Athenian Agora (*Hesp.* VI. 448, No. 3), which in fact refers to the honouring of θεοπολι to be sent by Ephesos to attend the Ptolemaia at Athens, and is not, as first explained, an invitation to Athens to send representatives to a festival at Ephesos; (c) two fragments of a stele from Megara (*IG* VII. 16, in the British Museum) are re-examined and prove to contain the remains of letters received from other cities, including Medeon and Corcyra (?) in acknowledgement of the announcement of a Megarian festival in honour of Artemis Soteira; (d) ground less familiar to epigraphists is explored in a long section (pp. 76-108) devoted to Musicians, Athletes and Acrobats in the astrological writers, with special reference to Fr. Cumont's study (*L'Égypte des Astrologues*).

In Ch. II (pp. 113-50; Tod, p. 269) among the documents relating to Κλ. Μητροδώρα, the benefactress of the city of Chios, one as now restored shows that she twice held the eponymous Stephanephoria of the city, and another, that this office was held, at some date in the reign of Nero, by King Antiochus IV of Commagene. Ch. III (pp. 151-218) discusses many of the names claimed as Anatolian by Sundwall in *Die Einheimischen Namen der Lykien*, and shows that a considerable number of them are really (and quite obviously) Greek, or occasionally Macedonian, Thracian or Latin; and deals with a few unusual names from other sources, such as Κίτρος.

Ch. IV (pp. 219-36), 'Contributions à un lexique épigraphique', is a miscellany, of which the chief portion discusses with a full documentation the use and meaning of the word θρησκεία, which, apparently of Ionian origin, is not found in Greek literature or inscriptions between Herodotus and the time of Augustus.

Ch. V (pp. 237-86), 'Philologie et géographie', includes the acute conjecture that 'Mirana' in Pliny's list of cities near Delphi (*NH* IV. 8) = Μυρωνία (Μυρῶν) (cf. Thuc. iii. 101; Paus. x. 38, 8, etc.), recently located by Pappadakis at Hagia Thymia (s.s.-w. of Amphissa), as Leake had originally suggested. Then the author crosses the Aegean to deal with the much-discussed list of Carian cities grouped

together in col. I of the Τάξις Φόρου of 425 B.C. (*IG* I.² 63; cf. Tod, 249). Some of the names in dispute have since been settled, but his demonstration of the unsoundness of the conjecture [Κομιστρί]στος[ἐν Λυκίᾳ] (*ibid.*, col. II) is vigorous (to say the least) and unanswerable. No less forceful are his criticisms of 'corrections' of ethnics lately proposed by Zingerle (cf. Tod, 242), leading up to the reminder that in such studies 'la critique paléographique ne peut ici réussir que si elle est maniée par qui s'intéresse à l'histoire et à la géographie,' with which few would be found to disagree. In the same chapter is a full exposition of the evidence for locating the site of Col. Iulia Parlais at Barla, on the w. bank of Lake Egerdir (cf. his *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 98²), as was originally suggested by Arundell in 1834, but always rejected by Ramsay. This may be commended as a model of constructive reasoning, the final proof being supplied by the discovery at Barla (in 1914, cf. *Annuario Scuola Arch. Atene*, iii. 1921) of an inscription including the phrase τῇ δυνάμει [δ]ρ(ων), for this mention of *duumviri* proves that here was in fact a Roman colony, which, by a process of exclusion, can only have been Parlais.

Ch. VI (pp. 287-92; Tod, p. 260) discusses the fragment of a s.c. relating to Coronea, which is not only contemporary with the well-known s.c. of 170 B.C. for Thisbe (*Syll.*³ 646), but must presumably be the actual decree referred to by Livy (xliii. 4), who wrongly dates it to 171 B.C.

Ch. VII (pp. 293-316; Tod, p. 253 f.) demands rather fuller treatment, for it comprises the most noteworthy of all the new documents in the volume, namely the two stelai from Acharnai, of which the first, adorned above with a relief, but incomplete below, is a decree of the local demesmen relating to the erection of altars to Ares and Athena Areia. The second, engraved by order of a priest of those deities, contains the full text of the ephebic oath, for which hitherto we have had to rely on versions, which conflict somewhat, preserved by Stobaeus and Pollux. The new copy, agreeing on the whole more closely with the former, supports the reading πλεῖω δὲ καὶ ἀρεῶν as against the corrupt phrase in Pollux 'πλεῖω δὲ καὶ ἀρόων', which has led to some reckless and improbable conjectures. This oath is followed by the text of the apocryphal oath taken by the Athenians before the battle of Plataea: it proves to include certain phrases not given in either of the two known versions quoted by Lycurgus (c. *Leocratem*) and Diodorus, which are apparently derived from a common original. Both stelai belong to the fourth century B.C., and, to judge by the script, are rather later than 350 B.C., though the editor does not suggest an exact date. He suggests, however, with much probability, that the engraving of these oaths was inspired, directly or indirectly, by Lycurgus, which would be fully in accord with what is known of that statesman's patriotic sentiments and antiquarian piety.

It is hardly necessary to add that this rich harvest of learning is presented with the author's customary lucidity, and reveals on every page his profound and perhaps unrivalled acquaintance with epigraphical material and cognate literature. The book is admirably produced, and deserves a special word of gratitude for the indices and the photographs.

It is perhaps hardly surprising that a careful reading reveals occasional traces of haste, notably in the inaccurate spelling of English words quoted in the footnotes. [On pp. 165-68 I have noted four instances; on pp. 242-67 eight more.] Nor has the author's extremely high standard of accuracy been quite consistently maintained in his transcription of the fragments of the Μητροδώρα inscriptions from Chios (Ch. II), for a study of the photographs necessitates a few minor corrections: p. 129, A. 1. 19 σύνπαν for σύμπαν; p. 130, B. 1. 1, ?κατασκι[υ]ασι for αἰος καὶ λ.αδ; 1. 3, διαγγελοῦσι for διαγγέλλουσι; 1. 5, ἀγροσμένον for ἀγροσμένον; 1. 8, surely σπο[υ]δης; p. 132, D. 1. 2, the sixth letter is clearly M not N, enabling us to restore [Κλαυδία Μητρ]οδώρα μ[η]τ[ρ]οδώρα[ς] . . .¹

¹ Some of the readings here corrected represent readings of the original publications, which, however, L. R. has not commented on.

Finally, it may be noted, with genuine surprise and regret, that the author is less fully acquainted than might have been expected with Spartan inscriptions of the Imperial period, whether published in *IG V. 1* or in the *Annual of the British School*. Thus, in an invaluable collection of the evidence for eponymous offices held by Kings and Emperors in Greek cities, his references to the tenure of the Patronate at Sparta by Hadrian (p. 145) include only the three examples contained in *IG V. 1*; but subsequent discoveries reported in *BSA* xxvi. and xxix. have shown that the second of his three instances is based on a false restoration and must be discarded, whereas a fresh example (xxvi. p. 170, 1, D 3) is to be added. Again, *IG V. 1*, 37 might well have been cited as another example of an embassy being sent to Aelius Caesar in Pannonia; in an interesting discussion of the name Στράβας (p. 188 f.) a Spartan example might have been quoted (restored, with great probability for Π]ύραξ, *BSA* xxvi. p. 64, 1 A 4, by Wilhelm²); and the list of instances of the word θρηνοῦσα should certainly have included the small altar to Zeus Hypsistos, in which this word occurs in the plural (*BSA* xxvi. 223 f.). The trifling nature of these criticisms and omissions only emphasises the more clearly the profound erudition of Robert's book.

A. M. W.

Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions: The Near East, 200 B.C.-A.D. 1100 (Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, Supplement to Vol. IX). By M. AVI-YONAH. Pp. 125. Jerusalem and London: Humphrey Milford (for the Government of Palestine), 1940. 8s.

Mr. Avi-Yonah has long been familiar to all who are interested in Palestinian archaeology, chiefly, though by no means solely, for his *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, and he has now increased our indebtedness to him by giving us what is incomparably the best available account of the use of abbreviations in Greek inscriptions, superseding the very imperfect lists drawn up by Franz, Reinach and Larfeld. Geographically the field of his inquiry comprises North Africa, Western Asia, South Russia and the Balkan Peninsula (except Macedonia, Greece and the Greek islands), chronologically it extends from 200 B.C. to A.D. 1100; but both in space and in time it by no means rigidly observes these boundaries.

After a brief preface (pp. 1-4) explaining the purpose, arrangement and limitations of the present study and a list (pp. 5-8) of abbreviations used to indicate the books and periodicals examined, the author gives a long and elaborate introduction (pp. 9-44), in which he discusses (1) the definition and characteristics of Greek epigraphical abbreviations, their subject-matter and their historical development, (2) the methods of abbreviation—chiefly 'suspension' (the omission of one or more letters at the close of a word, as in our 'Rev.' or 'Jan.') and 'contraction' (the omission of one or more letters from the interior of a word, as in 'Bart.' or 'Mr.')—and the vexed question of the relation of contraction in general to that of the *nomina sacra*, (3) abbreviation marks and their chronological sequence, the doubling of the last letter to denote a plural and the use of alphabetic numerals to denote words or phrases. The main section of the work (pp. 45-125) consists of (a) an alphabetical catalogue of 4130 abbreviations of both types, with references and, where possible, dates, (b) a list of *sigla*, (c) addenda, derived mainly from periodicals published between 1936 and 1938, and (d) a table of abbreviations arranged in the chronological order of their first appearances.

Mr. Avi-Yonah has fulfilled his exacting task with an industry and thoroughness deserving of the highest praise and has spared himself no trouble in pursuance of his twofold aim 'to help the student and the epigraphist.' Every page of the book attests his unflagging diligence, his attention to detail and his keen interest in every aspect of the subject. True, it would not be difficult to call in question individual points of interpretation (though the author's frank statement that 'the abbreviations and their solutions are given as indicated by the sources, even where

the reading proposed is, in my opinion, wrong' blunts the edge of criticism), to draw attention to inconsistencies and errors in accentuation or in word-forms,¹ and to maintain that an appreciable number of the examples here collected are due not to deliberate abbreviation but to the carelessness of the designers, engravers, or copyists of the inscriptions. But to do so would be to run a grave risk of obscuring the merits of the book. It does not, indeed, mark finality; some day someone, perhaps Mr. Avi-Yonah himself, will extend the survey to Greek inscriptions prior to the second century B.C. and to Greece, Italy and Sicily, even if it may appear advisable to restrict it to 'Greek,' as distinct from 'Byzantine,' epigraphy by fixing as its lower limit, say, A.D. 400. Meanwhile we have a firm foundation upon which to build and therein a contribution of great and permanent value to epigraphical studies.

M. N. T.

Anatolian Studies presented to William Hepburn Buckler. Edd. W. M. CALDER and J. KEIL. Pp. xviii + 382; pl. 12 + 10 text figs. Manchester: University Press, 1939. 35s.

It is with a feeling of nostalgia that one re-reads this Buckler *Festschrift*, a monument of international co-operation offered to a world on the brink of war; to turn its pages is to attend again in spirit the International Epigraphic Congress, for here we can read contributions by some of the greatest scholars of the day, British, American, French, Dutch, Belgian, German and Austrian, a goodly company now, alas, sundered. As is only right in a volume dedicated to one of the greatest living epigraphists, much of the material is epigraphic, but, in the manner of *in honorem* volumes, the contents range over the fields of history, religion, numismatics, sculpture and philology.

Even to list the authors and titles of the contributions would exceed the space at my disposal, and a critical review is out of the question, but, without making invidious comparisons, one may mention some of the outstanding contributors. The names of Adolph Wilhelm, doyen of epigraphists, Louis Robert, M. N. Tod, B. D. Meritt and J. J. E. Hondius are a guarantee of the high standard of the volume. W. M. Calder, Buckler's collaborator in *MAMA VI*, studies the so-called Eumeneian formula, while A. Cameron, joint editor of *MAMA V*, makes a systematic study of ΘΕΠΙΤΟΣ and related terms in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, a welcome aid to our knowledge of social conditions in the Empire. These and other items are fully listed in the *Bulletin Épigraphique*, REG lii, 1939, to which the reader is referred for critical reviews.

Archaeology is represented by Miss W. Lamb, D. M. Robinson and Sir George Hill, religion by F. Cumont and J. Keil, while M. Rostovtzeff, the late Tenney Frank, D. Magie, J. G. C. Anderson, R. Syme, and the late Sir William Ramsay, writing not very happily on his own province of Galatia, complete the *mélange* with historical contributions.

Not the least interesting feature is a compilation by Mrs. Buckler, herself a well-known Byzantine scholar, of a bibliography of her husband's writings, ranging over a period of nearly fifty years, in which one can trace the evolution from the lawyer who writes on 'Torts of Lunatics,' 'Sales on the Instalment Plan,' 'Railway Regulations in

¹ A very few illustrations must suffice. ΕΛ(αια), ΕΠ(ω)νιος (p. 65) ΕΠ(ω)νιον, ΖΕC(τός) (p. 89) ΖΕC(τη), and ΟΜΒ(είτος) (p. 90) ΟΜΒ(είτης); ΑΥΗ (p. 52) stands for Αὐ(ρ)η(λία) rather than for Αὐ(ρη)λ(η), ΘΩΦΙΛΑΤΟΝ (p. 71) for θ(ε)ωφιλ(ε)στ(ον) rather than for θ(ε)ωφιλατον, ΕΚΟCΘΗ (p. 62) for εκκο(μή)θη rather than for (ο)ι κο(δομή)θη; ΕΙΡΕΝ (p. 38) should be ΕΙΡΗΝ (cf. p. 62); ΕΥΚΛΙCΤ (p. 66) appears in Dunaud's publication (*Rev. Bibl.* 1933, 248 no. 73) as ε(υ)κλ(ισ)τά(ς)του (*sic*), but the facsimile clearly shows ἐκλ(ισ)του, i.e. ἐκλ(ισ)του; the reading ΚΑΤΑCΘΗΚΑC (*BCH XIII. 344*) gives rise to the entries ΘΗΚΑC (συν)θήκας (p. 70) and C(τά)ς (p. 100), whereas a glance at the later and better publication of the inscription in question (*IG xii(7). 412*) shows that we must read κατὰ συν[υ]θήκας, the υν having been originally omitted and later inserted above the line.

² In a letter to myself.

France' to the consummate scholar who began his epigraphical career so auspiciously in 1912 with 'Greek Inscriptions of Sardis,' helped to found the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor, laboured valiantly to preserve Anatolian monuments, crowning his achievements as joint editor of *MAMA VI*. This handsome volume, even those who are not partial to *mélanges* will agree, is an offering worthy of the great scholar, humanist and friend it honours.

J. M. R. CORMACK

A History of the Delphic Oracle. By H. W. PARKE. Pp. viii + 457; pl. 8. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1939. 21s.

On the whole, the Delphic Oracle has had rather a bad Press in this country. Most British historians have favoured the democratic side, and Delphi has, rightly or wrongly, been taken for an opponent of freedom; it supported Xerxes, it was wholeheartedly on the Spartan side in 431, and it was an ally of Philip of Macedon. The ambiguity of its replies was a stock joke in antiquity; they seem to have been taken more seriously in modern times, and the occasional comparison of Delphi with the Vatican was not meant to be a compliment to either institution. The anti-Delphi view has been upheld most recently by Professor Thomson and Professor Farrington; occasionally it has been said on the other side that Delphi took up a humane attitude on questions of slavery and the treatment of subject races, but there have been few lengthy studies of the oracle for its own sake; in Dr. Parke's bibliography the English works are very much in a minority, and of them many are articles.

In the four hundred pages of the present work, Dr. Parke has several things to say in defence of the oracle. To the accusation that it opposed democracy he returns a flat denial; in Thebes and Megara governments were told to refer matters to the electorate, and no support was given to the interventionist campaigns against Cleisthenes in Athens. The hostility of the Athenian Left, as expressed by Aeschylus and Euripides, is due less to any permanent ideological attitude of the oracle than to its temporary support of Sparta in 432; and this can be attributed to the fear of Phocianising tendencies on the part of Athens, as shown a generation or so earlier. Indeed most modern commentators, in their criticism of the oracle, seem to have overlooked the citizen body of Delphi itself; and many things, including the medism of 480, can be attributed to the enlightened self-interest of the Delphians themselves.

As for the charge of ambiguity, Dr. Parke ingeniously makes out that the most obviously ambiguous replies are themselves most likely to be the *vaticinia post eventum*; the most probably genuine ones are those like that given to the Siphnians, which could be twisted to fit practically any happening—though to my mind he scarcely does justice to the brilliant obscurity of the prophecy dealing with the battle of Sepeia; especially the phrase *μέγα κῆδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἐπέσῃ* which could equally well mean "win glory in Argive territory" (i.e. a Spartan victory), or "win praise among the Argives" (i.e. a victory for the Argive Hera). As for Croesus boiling the tortoise, he does not refer this to second sight or even to collusion; the whole story he regards as pure fiction, and it is difficult to suppose him wrong. The praise of Socrates has been considered to be simply a pat on the back for a submissive lackey (though if Socrates had been the acquiescent nonentity represented by Farrington he would hardly have spoken as freely as he did in the time of the Thirty Tyrants); Parke can only say that we do not know enough about Socrates in the pre-432 days to tell on what this reply may be based, but suggests that it was simply an answer of the type that confirms an already existing opinion, and that the oracle had done nothing but give a negative reply to the question 'Is anybody wiser than Socrates?'

However, it is in his account of the genesis of the oracle that Dr. Parke is most interesting. He points out that it is unusual for a god to be served by a priestess, and suggests that the Pythia was a survival of the time when the Oracle belonged to Mother Earth, and had adopted a rather awkward *modus vivendi* with the male Priest of

Apollo. Unfortunately this theory is not worked so far as it might be; a chapter has been devoted to the stories of the rôle of Delphi in the Messenian Wars, and the humanity shown in 454 B.C. has been noted (though I would personally have preferred the date to be given as 460); but I do not see any reference to the condemnation of the Milesian terror against the 'unwarlike Gergithes.' Now it would be unreasonable to expect the leaders of a small priestly state in seventh, or even fifth, century Greece, to have humanitarian or abolitionist views that would have seemed extreme even in a democracy; but may we not suppose that there was some sympathy between Delphi and the pre-Dorian populations of Greece? If that were so, an explanation might be found in the priestess of the pre-Dorian Earth-mother, who survived to balance the Achæo-Dorian Apollo; and there may even be some connection with the double monarchy at Sparta, if indeed there is any deep significance in the pan-Peloponnesian attitude of the Agiad dynasty. If that were so, perhaps the famous instruction to 'beware of a lame reign' may have been something more than a mere verbal quibble designed to be useful to oracle-mongers and king-makers in future centuries. Parke does not follow far along this track; but he points out the way to some fascinating investigations.

Altogether, Dr. Parke has done a great deal for the good name of the Delphic Oracle; and he has done a great deal more for such of us—and they were many—who wanted to know the exact machinery of consultation, and the ritual and etiquette of the Delphic pilgrimage. One still feels that the Delphic priesthood was an organisation of impostors living on human credulity; but I think we cannot help feeling rather more indulgent to them after reading Parke's apologia. However, it cannot be too firmly emphasised that this work is primarily one not of controversy but of information; and as a book of reference and a summary of all that is known, and of a great deal that most of us have hitherto had no means of knowing, we can be sure that it will perform a valuable service for a long time to come.

H. W. STUBBS

Greek Popular Religion. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. Pp. xviii + 166; pl. 15. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1940. \$2.50.

This book is the first of a new series. The American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions having handed over its functions to the American Council of Learned Societies, the latter is carrying on the good work begun in 1896 by Rhys Davies' lectures on Buddhism. A better choice for the fresh start could hardly have been made. Works on Greek mythology, philosophy, state cults and higher religious developments are numerous and, many of them, good; it has not been so easy to get information, accessible to a non-specialist, on the very legitimate problem of what the average decent Greek, who was neither priest, poet, philosopher nor prophet, thought and did about his gods. One reason is that surviving literature does not tell us very much about the subject, and recourse must often be had to archaeology and also to folklore, including that of modern Greece. An archaeologist, therefore, who is also well seen in philology, in sympathy with the 'philological anthropology' of recent years, but not with its more hazardous theories, and, not the least important point, possessed of a hereditary understanding of the countryside and its ways, was the obvious person to supply and interpret the facts in a book which, without being full of minute detail, is never for a moment unscholarly.

Briefly, its seven chapters start with the peasantry of early Greece and their practices and half-articulate beliefs; go on to tell of the highest development of the ancient cult of rustic deities, the Eleusinian Mysteries; explain the importance of family worship and the changes wrought by the transference of gods and their adorers to cities and great assemblies such as the Games; give a fair account, neither over- nor under-emphasising, of the part played by superstition, some of it crass enough, and end by dealing with the phenomena of a religion becoming more and more individualistic, such as belief in Hell, the emphasis on seers and oracles and the tendency to choose one's own

gods instead of accepting those to which, as the author puts it (p. 121), one was born.

Many very good points are made; good especially, because they stress things not at once obvious to a learner, or indeed to some who are well past the elementary stages of this study. For instance, we have, on p. 23, a few words on the calendar which put it in its proper place in the history of religion. On p. 90, the increasing remoteness of the great city-gods is rightly given as a reason for the importation of new and by no means always better deities. On p. 116 and elsewhere, survivals are dealt with moderately and with good critical sense. The last chapter explains in a most satisfactory way the position of seers and diviners as champions of orthodoxy, if so it may be called, against Sophist attacks.

The learned apparatus of the book is light and its length very moderate. Hence several things which are doubtful have to be left without full discussion, as 'pre-deistic' rites (p. 28 sq.), the author's as against Deubner's views of the Choes (p. 34), the importance of Orphism, in several passages, and the question (p. 119) whether Hell is really a Greek invention. The reviewer thinks he has found one or two minute errors, not worth listing, and the generally well-produced book suffers slightly from some of the illustrations being on too small a scale to be clear. All these are trifles.

H. J. R.

The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times. The Sather Lectures, XVII. By AXEL W. PERSSON. Pp. 189; pl. 11 + 29 text figs. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, and Cambridge University Press, 1942. 12s.

Dr. Persson's account of prehistoric Greek religion is based upon precise observation of his archaeological material and general inference from cults in the nearer 'Afrasian' countries. There is also a chapter on its survivals in classical Greek religion and another on comparisons with that of the Nordic Bronze Age. His archaeological evidence consists mainly of twenty-eight engraved signet-rings from Crete and the Greek Mainland, rather more than have hitherto been counted among religious documents; their subjects are excellently reproduced in enlarged photographs and are very fully, ingeniously and plausibly described. A twenty-ninth illustration shows the elaborate design of the 'Ring of Minos' convincingly analysed into three subjects which have been copied with inadequate knowledge from other rings. The 'Ring of Nestor' and those of the 'Thisbe Treasure' are more discreetly bypassed. Dr. Persson's conclusion is that Minoan-Mycenaean religion as shown in the pictorial series of the signets, even in the bull-fighting scenes, was principally concerned with the annual vegetation cycle, in which human death and burial were involved. He finds here a single goddess and a young god whom he identifies or compares with the divine consorts of fertility cults in Asia Minor, Syria, Babylonia and Egypt. The multiplicity of deities apparently persisting from prehistoric times, in later Greek cult and mythology, is reasonably explained by the adoption of invocatory epithets as proper names, partly through the ignorance of the Hellenic population, partly through their inclination towards definite ideas and persons in religion.

E. J. F.

The Legacy of Egypt. Edited by S. R. K. GLANVILLE. Pp. xx + 424; pl. 34. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942. 10s.

This is a book that is much needed even for the Egyptologist. Although most of the details are well known individually, their cumulative effect is a surprise even to him. It will probably be a still greater surprise to the classical scholar, in spite of the commonplace that the Greeks were indebted to the wisdom of the Egyptians for much of their own knowledge, and that such men as Thales, Solon, Pythagoras, Democritus of Abdera, and Plato had sat at the feet of the Egyptian priests.

One cannot but regret that the opening chapter of so valuable a book should be one so crammed with conjecture and assumption, instead of dealing only with matters on which we have definite evidence. This is not the place in

which to enter on controversy, but suffice it to point out that the Samhain festival of ancient Britain is here supposed to have originated in Egypt, and to have been brought by mariners from Knossos! Yet it is well known that no material evidence has ever been found of the presence in this country of those who used to be called 'Phoenicians' and are here supposed to be Knossians.

But let us leave the realms of phantasy for those of ascertained fact, which are so well represented in the book under review.

Egypt's outstanding legacy to the world is of course the calendar, originally of 365 days and finally corrected to 365½ days. It was its later form that was brought to Rome by Julius Caesar on the advice of an Alexandrian scientist. It is still in use to-day in the Church as the calendar of saints' days, having survived for this purpose the slight correction which Augustus made in it, and the greater correction of Pope Gregory IX in 1582. The legacy that the calendar and the continuous history of Egypt have left to the modern student is that he has been provided with the framework into which to fit the history and sequences of the More Ancient East. This is something not to be found elsewhere.

Egypt exported not only much knowledge, but its vehicle as well—in other words, the papyrus on which to write it. Actually it provided the whole of the classical world with its writing material right up to the Dark Ages, and the modern world with its words 'paper,' 'Bible.' Besides the papyrus on which to write Egypt ultimately provided the world with the alphabet with which to write, for the 'Phoenician' alphabet is derived from the 'Sinaitic' script, which in its turn is a selection of Egyptian hieroglyphs.

In science and medicine the Greeks could never have made the advances they did, if they had not been able to build on the vast groundwork of experience they found in Egypt. Mr. Sloley aptly sums up the situation when he says that we have in that country 'science in the making.' The Egyptian was content to use his knowledge, and it was left to the Greek to attempt to systematise it and to discover the underlying laws. Fig. 2 on p. 172 will probably come as a surprise, being as it is a page of problems out of a mathematical papyrus complete with diagrams quite in the Euclidean manner. Even if the methods seem cumbersome to us, they could produce results of astonishing accuracy. Of this the Great Pyramid, dating to about 2700 B.C., is the outstanding example. Mr. Sloley points out with justice that we ourselves are able to work accurately and without undue inconvenience in tons, hundredweights, quarters, and pounds, and in other complicated media.¹ Water-clocks, the clepsydrae of the Greeks, had been in use in Egypt at least since 1300 B.C., and some of the names of the dekans survive in Greek.

Not only did the Greeks go to Egypt to study medicine, but the Persian kings sent there for their physicians, and with reason. In Egypt we have by far the earliest medical books, observations on anatomy, experiments in surgery, pharmacy, the use of splints, bandages, compresses, and a very full anatomical and medical vocabulary. Alexandria provided the Greeks with the possibility of systematic dissection of the human body. The form of prescription that had been in use in Egypt for centuries was copied by the Greeks down to the smallest details, and Egyptian influence can be recognised in Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, Persian, and medieval European medical books. Moreover, the popular medicine of Europe and the Near East largely owes its origin to Egypt. Dioscorides, Galen, Hippocrates, and Pliny ascribe the same virtues and traditions to many drugs as had the Egyptians long before them. Alchemy takes its name from that of the land of Egypt, and the Egyptian mummies themselves provided Europe with its medicament 'mumia.'

In building we have what are called the proto-Doric columns of Saqqarah and Beni Hassan, and the sun-dried bricks. These latter have spread to Spain and thence to

¹ Two unfortunate printers' errors occur in some of the copies, and should be corrected. On p. 167, 6th line from the bottom, 69 should read 89. On p. 168, l. 6, the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ should read $\frac{1}{4}$.

Spanish America, taking the name with them—*djebe.t* in Pyramid times, *tôbbe* in Coptic, *tûba* in Arabic, *adobe* in Spanish.

Glass-making originated in Egypt, and Alexandria exported blown glass all over Roman Europe, just as she did papyrus.

In the sphere of religion Egypt's influence on the Hebrews has been surprisingly small. This is the more astonishing in view of the nearness of the two peoples, the Sojourn in Egypt at the beginning of Israel's history, the close political connections until the end of the Jewish monarchy, and the long-continued practice of Egyptian religion in the Palestinian and Syrian provinces of the Empire. The Egyptian influence is practically only to be found in the forms of Hebrew poetry and in the Wisdom literature, but in both of these it is profound. It was at Alexandria, however, that the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament was made.

The case of the Christian Church is totally different, for here Egypt has left a lasting legacy. Manetho's chronology seems to have provided the Alexandrian Church with its date for the creation, i.e. 5498. The survival of the old Egyptian calendar as that of the saints' days of the Church has already been mentioned. Asceticism, hence monasticism, spread throughout Christendom from Egypt. The very word 'eremite, hermit' comes to us direct from the desert. Alexandria was the home of such great figures of the early Church as Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Arius, and Athanasius. It was also the home of Gnosticism.

The legacy left in the Greek papyri, that to the Byzantine Empire, and that again to our knowledge of Roman administration will be too well known to classical scholars to need emphasis here, and Egypt's immense contributions to Islam and also to daily life in modern Egypt are outside the purview of this review.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT

The Greek Tradition. Ed. GEORGE BOAS. Pp. xi + 266; pl. 1. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1939. 10s. 6d.

This volume consists of eight essays by different writers dealing with various aspects of the Greek Tradition from the Hellenistic age to the present day; and it includes, besides more familiar matters, essays on the influence of the classic tradition on American architecture and on the Italian opera. The writers are well versed in their respective subjects and their essays repay study, but the diversity of subject and treatment makes criticism difficult in a short review, and only one or two things can be noted. The first is that all the writers concentrate their attention on architecture and the other arts, and have little to say on the influence of Greece on ideas and institutions. The second point is that though chapters are devoted to France and Germany respectively, there is unexpectedly little about the Italian Renaissance, and England is seldom mentioned, except for an allusion to the 'Platonists of England' in the Preface by the editor. That preface is interesting, and so are the short introductions to the separate essays.

The Challenge of the Greek. T. R. GLOVER. Pp. x + 241; pl. 1. Cambridge: University Press, 1942. 12s. 6d.

This is one of the rare books which have interest at once for the expert and for the general reader, for Dr. Glover's interests are almost as wide and various as his reading. In this volume he deals, besides subjects more strictly classical, with subjects so diverse as Forestry, Farming, Economics, and Athletics; and though he is concerned with them in ancient Greece, he tells us here and there things which may be new and thought-provoking to a modern student of the subject; for Dr. Glover's learning is always related to life. Similarly the professional scholar will find here and there either new facts or unexpected aspects of the old, and he will certainly be prompted more than once to say to himself, 'I must really read so-and-so again': a very salutary result. He may even be led into fresh fields of reading. And if he is sometimes tempted to disagree, that is equally good for him. The variety of the subjects treated, and the pleasant dis-

curisiveness of the treatment make it impossible to give a general idea of the ground covered, but it may be added that most of the essays, and especially that entitled 'Team or Hero?' have a bearing on the problems of the present. The Greeks, rightly studied, have always a topical interest.

Goethe and the Greeks. By HUMPHREY TREVELYAN. Pp. xvi + 321. Cambridge: University Press, 1941. 18s.

A review in a classical journal can hardly do justice to this book, because the reviewer is bound to take as the centre of his interest the second partner in the title rather than the first. The book itself, on the other hand, is naturally centred round the modern poet. I hope, however, I am right in assuming that the reaction of a great man to the Greeks is almost as important for 'the promotion of Hellenic studies' as scholarly investigation into Greek originals. The humblest scholar will sometimes feel that he is right, where the great modern poet, perhaps relying on insufficient knowledge, and certainly under the sway of his own genius, is wrong. But even then scholarly accuracy may be less important than creative insight. The genius, though not concerned with the recovery of historical Greece, may nevertheless open doors which lead to it, doors which otherwise would probably be closed for ever.

Few great men of modern times have struggled as hard as Goethe in their attempts to get hold of the Greek spirit. It has been for some time past a matter of controversy among scholars whether, on the whole, the Greek influence on Goethe was salutary or not, i.e. whether his creative power and poetical imagination were richer and greater when he followed only his 'northern' soul, or when he tried to shape his poetry, those 'fragments of one great confession,' under the deep experience and formative power of his attempts 'to be a Greek.' It is a special merit of Mr. Trevelyan's scholarly and sound book that he does not, with more or less subjective arguments, enter the arena of this fight, though he apparently opposes the radical 'northernness' as it appears, e.g., in Professor Butler's challenging book which bears the significant title *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany*. Trevelyan gives a detailed and chronological account of the stages through which Goethe went in his relations to the Greeks. The outstanding impression throughout all the many changes is of a peculiar combination of intellectual assimilation of knowledge with deeper perception and inspiration; in fact, poet and scholar were one in Goethe, and not only with regard to the Greeks. He tried again and again, by hard and humble work, to understand; but he was equally, *a priori* as it were, permeated by a chiefly emotional longing for the 'higher reality' of those Greeks whose spirit he believed to face him in poor casts of Hellenistic sculpture. This latter attitude, of course, he owed to Winckelmann, who had freed succeeding generations from the rococo Greeks, but imposed on them instead the almost lifeless picture of 'noble simplicity and quiet greatness.' The fact that Goethe did not see Rome and Greece truly separated, that he used to speak of 'the Ancients,' that he found his Greece in Sicily and declined to go to Athens—all this shows the predominant power of Winckelmann's ideas. But Goethe soon outgrew his master, and through a long and amazing process of triumph and defeat, of hope and despair, of humble surrender and proud conquest, of clear insight and strange error, he reached heights and depths far beyond the reach of other human beings.

It is impossible even to outline here this process which Mr. Trevelyan describes from the early days when the child eagerly writes his first Greek sentences, through the years when Nature reveals itself to Goethe in the Greeks, up to the stage when in the wedding of Faust and Helen a final synthesis is reached. Trevelyan's story of Goethe's unending spiritual development is sound and seeks to go to the roots. It is also full of interesting detail, of new aspects and of stimulating observations. In stressing his points, Trevelyan is inclined, naturally enough, to simplify. He almost excludes all the other great factors which became creative forces in Goethe's life and nature. To read that in the days of Strassburg and Wetzlar Homer (and not Shakespeare) revealed to Goethe most of man's nature, is certainly surprising, in spite of Werther's love for the

Odyssey. And the nine Greek mythological symbols during the period of *Sturm und Drang* (even if they include Prometheus and Ganymede) weigh little against the three German figures among whom are Götz and Faust. However, this one-sidedness in Trevelyan's book, though it sometimes pictures a Goethe of less universality and complexity than he really was, is controlled by subtle and sober judgement, which in turn is based on a good knowledge of Greek art and poetry.

Who indeed were the Greeks who emerge from Goethe's unceasing struggle? There is no simple answer to this question. Again and again we are startled by Goethe's remarks on subjects of Greek art and poetry, revealing his deep insight and true reverence. But his interest never remains concentrated on the object alone. Homer and Sophocles and Phidias—they all become immediately powers in his own life. Starting from the belief that Greek beauty is the highest possible approach to nature itself, Goethe nevertheless was shocked by the relentlessness and amorality of Greek tragedy, which to his mind seemed incompatible with the serenity of Greek sculpture. In the *Iphigenie* he tried to overcome the natural and cruel 'inhumanity' of the Greeks by modern (in fact, Christian) morality. But soon he found out (*Paestum versus Paladio*!) that great things were not simply beautiful. With his pagan mind he went beyond the limits of mere classicism and entered the land of true tragedy. He touched on the daemonic side of the Greeks, but he only touched on it. He kept aloof from those tragic powers which became alive later in Shelley's poems no less than in Nietzsche's Dionysian world. The static greatness of the Greeks, even if no longer seen in the serene brightness of Schiller's *Gods of Greece*, was contrasted with the unrest of the northern soul. The *Helena* scene reveals this even more clearly than the strange features of the *Klassische Walpurgisnacht*. In the horrible menace of Helen, embodied beauty, being sacrificed by her husband, Goethe pictures full-blooded Greek 'inhumanity,' a truly tragic subject. But Helen meets Faust, and her beauty becomes the complement to his desire for creative activity. Faust, in marrying Helen, undergoes what Goethe had undergone when he came home from Italy. The tragic beauty of Greece as the true perfection of nature gives to modern man what no other revelation of the human spirit can give.

Goethe's Hellenism is naturally of the German kind, and therefore different from what Greece means to England. But he was so great, and so much of an European, that his struggle for Greece no less than his poetry itself has its meaning and importance beyond national frontiers. It is certainly significant that Euphorion, whom Goethe called 'the personification of poetry,' but who above all was the fruit of Faust's marriage with Helen, showed the 'well-known features' of Byron. It was the union of the strongest forces in European civilisation, symbolised in Faust's union with Helen and his redemption into Heaven's love and glory, which made Goethe 'the voice of Europe.'

VICTOR EHRENBERG

The Quality of Mercy: the Gentler Virtues in Greek Literature. By G. H. MACURDY. Pp. xiii + 185. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. \$2.00.

Emeritus Professor Grace Macurdy, who is best known for her early studies of the chronology of Attic drama, has published this volume in celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Vassar College. Its subtitle is the *Gentler Virtues in Greek Literature* and its object is to trace their history through Greek literature from Homer to the end of the fourth century with a final chapter on the Golden Rule in Socrates and Christ. The virtues concerned are chiefly *Aidos*, *Eleos*, *Sophrosyne*, and *Dikaiosyne*. While not saying anything that is startlingly new, the book is a pleasantly written account which quotes and interprets all the most important passages.

T.B.L.W.

Ambiguity in Greek Literature. By W. B. STANFORD. Pp. xi + 185. Oxford: Blackwell, 1939. 10s. 6d.

A short review cannot do justice to this book, which needs careful reading and re-reading with the Greek texts. It falls into two parts—an exposition of Greek views on ambiguity

and a discussion of the poets' practice from Homer to Euripides. The central thesis is that 'to the seeker after scientific precision of thought and language ambiguity seems a dangerous virus, the secretion of a mind diseased; but to the poet and imaginative writer it is a magic fluid which makes the rigid formulae of prose into Protean creatures of ever-changing and immortal power.' But the chief value of the book lies not in the adequately proven central thesis but in the detailed examples, particularly in the admirable chapter on the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus which foreruns Professor Stanford's later book on the style of Aeschylus noticed elsewhere in this journal. All those who study Greek poetry and its technique will need this book on their shelves.

T. B. L. W.

Some Ancient Novels. By F. A. TODD. Pp. vi + 144. Oxford: University Press, 1940. 7s. 6d.

This book consists of four lectures on the ancient novel which the author delivered in the University of Sydney, and which he was urged—not surprisingly—to publish. Their aim was to give a general account of the ancient novel, with what reasonably pertains thereto—some discussion of its possible origins, of its salient features, of its influence on later prose fiction. Professor Todd chooses for particular treatment *Leucippe and Clitophon*, *Daphnis and Chloe*, the *Satiricon*, and the *Golden Ass*: the first because it is the most typical, though possibly not the best, of the Greek romances, the second because it is the only ancient pastoral romance, and because of its great influence on the English pastoral, the other two as works of original genius and intrinsic importance.

The treatment is clear, sensitive and unpretentious, and holds the balance nicely between summaries of plots, discussion and criticism. The criticism is sensible and fresh: Professor Todd can point out the defects of the Greek romances temperately, without losing sight of what merits they have, and he is clear and definite about the superiority of Petronius and Apuleius—real novelists as distinct from rhetoricians. It is a short but informative and trustworthy survey for the general reader, all the better that the author keeps an appreciative eye on the Tudor translators.

H. D. F. K.

Greek Anthology, Books V-VII. Translated by ARTHUR S. WAY. Pp. 286. London: Macmillan, 1939. 8s. 6d.

Asklepiades of Samos. By WILLIAM and MARY WALLACE. Pp. xv + 107. Oxford: University Press, 1941. 7s. 6d.

Anthologie grecque: Anthologie Palatine Livre VII, 1-363. Text by P. WALTZ; translation by A. M. DESROUSSEAUX, A. DAIN, P. CAMELOT and E. DES PLACES. Pp. 360. Paris: L'Association G. Budé, 1938. 50 fr.

Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound. Translated by R. C. TREVELYAN. Pp. 48. Cambridge: University Press, 1939. 2s. 6d.

Euripides, Medea. Translated by R. C. TREVELYAN. Pp. 58. Cambridge: University Press, 1939. 2s. 6d.

Sophocles, Antigone. An English Version. By D. FITTS and R. FITZGERALD. Pp. 98. Oxford: University Press, 1939. 7s. 6d.

The first three of these books deal with the Greek Anthology. The late Dr. Way's volume contains his version of Books V to VII. Dr. Way was probably the most prolific of all translators of the Classics into English, but one cannot help feeling that he lacks the lightness of touch which is required for rendering occasional verse of this kind. Moreover, his long and often rather halting lines are ill adapted to the epigram. For example, the well-known epigram of Simonides (*AP* VI, 216) is rendered thus:

This thank-offering Sosus and Soso dedicate,

For deliverance Sosus, Soso that Sosus escaped black fate. He shows skill in toning down some of the more outspoken of the poems of Bk. V, but there are seven omitted in that Book and one each in Books VI and VII, and he has renumbered the epigrams so that they do not correspond with the Greek text. There is no indication what text has been used.

Asklepiades of Samos by William and Mary Wallace contains the text of the poems of this author, who was probably an earlier contemporary of Theocritus, extracted from the Anthology, with versions by the editors and selected renderings by other translators. It is remarkable how many British scholars and literary men have tried their hand at translating the Anthology; they include A. C. Benson, Lord Cromer, Richard Garnett, G. B. Grundy, Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, J. H. Merivale, J. S. Phillimore, J. A. Symonds and Humbert Wolfe. The general impression which these versions give is that it is extraordinarily difficult to render a Greek epigram into English which contains all the ideas of the original without becoming too lengthy and avoids all 'padding.' Not a few of the versions given here are highly successful; for example, Walter Leaf's version of VII, 284 and the editor's version of V. 150. This little book is admirably printed and produced.

The Budé volume is the fourth volume to appear of the Greek Anthology and contains the first half of Book VII (the Sepulchral Epigrams). It consists of an Introduction, text with full *apparatus criticus*, translation and notes. The Introduction discusses the manuscript tradition, the composition of the book, the literary form of the Sepulchral Epigram and the conditions of its composition. The *apparatus criticus* is admirably clear and contains a number of new emendations, many of them due to M. Desrousseaux, who acted as supervisor of the edition. The notes give just the sort of information which is required for the explanation of the epigrams. The Budé Greek Anthology is a valuable work of serious scholarship, and it is much to be hoped that it will be completed in due course, and will not remain unfinished like Stadtmüller's edition, which ended in the middle of Book IX in 1906.

The translations of the *Prometheus* and *Medea* by R. C. Trevelyan and that of the *Antigone* by D. Fitts and R. Fitzgerald offer an interesting contrast. Mr. Trevelyan states that his object is 'to reproduce as faithfully as possible for those who cannot read Greek, not only the meaning, but the form, phrasing and movement of the original.' He considers, no doubt rightly, that English blank verse is similar in movement and general effect to the Greek iambic line; in the lyrical and anapaestic passages he has tried to imitate as closely as possible the metrical pattern and phrasing, in such a way that one musical setting would fit both the Greek and the English words. The version is remarkably faithful, and one seldom feels that one is reading a translation. The rendering of the lyrics is an interesting and, on the whole, a successful experiment, although, since Greek poetry depends on quantity and English verse on stress, it has been necessary to substitute the latter for the former. In the famous ode, however, written in praise of Athens (*Medea*, 826 ff.), the translator does not attempt to reproduce the Greek rhythms and uses freer verse forms. There is no doubt that any Greekless reader would derive a good idea from these two versions of what a Greek play is like.

Messrs. Fitts and Fitzgerald have set before themselves quite a different ideal. As they justly remark, they have not made a translation of the *Antigone* 'in the class-room sense of the word.' Passages are omitted, expanded and altered. Their version is printed partly as verse and partly as prose, and some lines can certainly be scanned as blank verse. The general effect is to bring the play down to the level of everyday life; Antigone and Ismene talk like two modern young women, and Creon is a claptrap orator. The play as thus transformed may well be effective when put upon the stage, but to the ordinary reader it would give a very false idea of Sophoclean tragedy.

EDWARD S. FORSTER

A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by H. G. LIDDELL and ROBERT SCOTT. New edition, revised and augmented by HENRY STUART JONES with the assistance of RODERICK M'KENZIE and with the co-operation of many scholars. Part X. Τραγῶν-ῶδης, and Addenda et Corrigenda. Pp. 302. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940. 10s. 6d.

This journal, which welcomed the first part of the new Liddell and Scott, should not let its last part pass unnoticed, and since the editor invites me to raise this much-belated

cheer, I gladly do so, for I have been using the completed book for some three years, know it to be a great improvement on its predecessor, and can offer its editors, printers, and publishers hearty thanks and congratulations. It is not in order to find fault with them, but to aid their successors, that I offer the following criticisms; for no dictionary is ever perfect, and the completion of one revision is an invitation to look forward to the next.

Since a scholar must chiefly notice the obstacles over which his own hobby-horse has stumbled, I had better say that I have been using the book mainly on Theocritus, and, viewing it from that angle, I have two general complaints to make. The first is that the representation of later epic vocabulary is desultory and misleading. One cannot infer from silence that a Homeric word is not used by the Alexandrians or by Quintus, Oppian, and suchlike; nor, where post-Homeric citations are given, that they present a true picture. For instance, the author of Theocr. Id. xxv uses the forms ὁδοῦναι and προφάσκον, and the first occurs also in Apollonius. ὁδοῦναι is cited only from Timo, προφάσκον only from Quintus and an inscription of Roman date. A lexicon has many uses, but one of them is to enable an inquirer to trace the history of a word through the extant literature; and here this lexicon is defective.

My second complaint is that too many mistakes of earlier editions have been perpetuated, and in Theocritus at any rate some of them are gross indeed—see, for instance, s.v. ὁδοῦναι, προφάσκον. I am sorry to add that this edition has gone from bad to worse over ὁδοῦναι and has introduced some original blunders elsewhere (e.g., s.v. ἔρως, περιπλήθω). It is much easier to get blunders into a lexicon than to get them out again; therefore I hope that all who notice such things will communicate them to Dr. P. Maas, who sits at the Clarendon Press to receive them—indeed, I think it their bounden duty to do so, for the more cooks who lend a hand in skimming this broth the better it will be.

The new edition contains vastly more than its predecessor, largely owing to the accretion of new words from papyri, and in spite of rigorous compression (which occasionally delays one in finding the required entry) is nearly three hundred pages longer. Those of us who must have it constantly at hand heard with dismay that it was to be in two volumes. For the benefit of others I record that I have bound the Addenda in one slim, and the rest in one stout, volume, and have found the latter not appreciably more cumbersome than ed. 8.

A. S. F. G.

Scholia Platonica contulerunt atque investigaverunt F. D. Allen, J. Burnet, C. P. Parker; omnia recognita praefatione indicibusque instructa edidit. By G. C. GREENE. Pp. xlii + 569. Haverford, Penn.: American Philological Association, 1938. \$4.00.

In his preface the editor sets out fully the various sources of the scholia on Plato and the story of their collection, leading up to those most recent labours of F. D. Allen, J. Burnet and C. P. Parker upon which the present publication is based. He treats in detail the work and collection of Arethas, and discusses later contributions to the corpus and the bearing of variants in the scholia upon the relations between manuscripts. In the text, the *scholia vetera* are followed by those of Arethas set out in a separate section. The footnotes give not only variant readings but copious parallels and illustrative matter from the lexica and other sources. There are full indexes of proper names and of words. This bare inventory of contents is the best indication that can be given of the importance and value of this monumental volume, which will be indispensable to students of Plato. It may be added that the printing and arrangement are clear and spacious, making the book in this respect a model for works of reference. Dr. Greene has made an outstanding contribution to Hellenic studies.

D. T.

Plato's Law of Slavery in its Relation to Greek Law. By GLENN R. MORROW. Pp. 140. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1939. \$1.50.

This is an interesting treatise, embodying full research in a field hitherto unexplored. Plato's treatment of slavery

in the *Laws* is analysed under various heads, and at every point all possible comparison is made with known Greek law, or, in the frequent lack of such knowledge, with Greek practice as it may be inferred from literature. The dual aspect of the slave in Plato's treatment ('both a possession and a rudimentary legal person') is clearly brought out; so is the inescapable fact that Plato (in the *Laws* explicitly and constantly, in the *Republic* also by implication) not only accepts but approves slavery as an institution corresponding to a natural grading in human capacity and worth. His law of slavery is found to be 'an adaptation of positive Greek law,' showing certain innovations, some of which may (it is suggested) be traced to his desire to revive the *πατρις νόμος* of an earlier Athens. The author's judicious use of evidence, and his objective attitude throughout, contribute to make the book a valuable enrichment of Greek studies.

D. T.

The Theory of Motion in Plato's Later Dialogues.

By J. B. SKEMP. Pp. xv + 123. Cambridge: University Press, 1942. 8s. 6d.

This treatise, the latest volume in 'Cambridge Classical Studies,' examines the pre-Socratic origins, and the emergence in the later dialogues, of Plato's theory of a Moving Cause. The study culminates of course in the *Timaeus*, and Mr. Skemp has thrown valuable light both on the physical implications of that dialogue and on its metaphysical meaning. In the latter connexion, he postulates as Plato's *δυνατός ὄντας* the Forms and the *Δημιουργός*, who creates the world-soul and the *ὕποδοχή*, and thus sets the cosmic process in motion. Aristotle's statement that Plato neglected the *αἰτία κινήσεως* is partly explained, he thinks, by the 'gap' which remains at the point of the causation of particular *γίγνεις*. The least satisfying part of Mr. Skemp's exposition is his treatment of *ἀνάγκη*, which he says in his introduction (p. xii) 'we shall find is a power of the psychic order.' In Chapter VI its function in physical motion is thoroughly examined, but its metaphysical status remains obscure, though we are told on p. 111 that 'the pre-cosmic *πλανώμενη αἰτία* and the *τῆς* of the four bodies are as ultimate as the *Δημιουργός*.' The book has a short bibliography and an index of passages cited; a general index would have increased its usefulness for reference.

D. T.

Plato's Method of Dialectic.

By JULIUS STENZEL. Trans. and Ed. D. J. ALLAN. Pp. xliii + 170. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940. 10s. 6d.

This volume presents, in a most readable version and with a helpful introduction, a collection of Stenzel's papers on Platonic problems; the chief of these is an essay entitled 'The Literary Form and Philosophic Content of the Platonic Dialogue.' Some of the shorter papers are of considerable interest, particularly a note on Plato's relation to Democritus. Even with such assistance from the translator and editor, the English reader will probably find Stenzel's argument at many points obscure; but his work is full of suggestive points. He holds to the view of an earlier (Socratic) and a later (revised) theory, and insists on the substantial being of the Ideas; he finds the method of *διαίρεσις* all-important in the development of Plato's theory of knowledge. The book is one for students of Plato to possess and ponder.

D. T.

Plato's Earlier Dialectic.

By RICHARD ROBINSON. Pp. viii + 239. New York: Cornell University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1941. 18s. 6d.

In this study of the logical basis of Plato's earlier thought, the author insists on the historical and evolutionary approach, and makes a close examination of the actual language of the dialogues and its precise implications. After chapters on *ἔργον*, *πρῶτον* and the Socratic definition we pass to a particularly useful treatment of the method of hypothesis, with special reference to the *Meno*, *Phaedo* and *Republic*. In a long discussion of the 'upward path' in *Republic* VI and VII, the process is explained as 'a thoroughgoing *elenchus*' which 'culminates in intuition.' The distinction between the smiles of the Sun, the Line and the Cave is usefully worked out, and the Line is examined in detail with special reference to the mathe-

matical method. In a final chapter on Plato's theory and practice of analogy and imagery, his inconsistencies and his flights of fancy are given due weight as producing certain 'incoherences' in the work of the middle period. This is a valuable book, especially perhaps in its bearing on the study of *Republic* VI and VII.

D. T.

Philodemus: on Methods of Inference.

Edited, with translation and commentary, by PHILIP HOWARD DE LACY and ESTELLE ALLEN DE LACY. Pp. 220; pl. 1. Philadelphia: American Philological Association, 1941. \$2.50.

The Herculanean papyrus containing Philodemus' treatise known as *Περί Σημειώσεων* has been edited on the basis of photostats of the Oxford copy, and is here furnished with a parallel translation of all but the most fragmentary passages. Introductory chapters deal with the life and work of Philodemus and with the contents and criticism of this particular work. In further sections the Epicurean empiricism is studied—its sources, its development and its exercise in controversy with Stoics and Sceptics. A bibliography of the Herculanean papyri is appended. The editors have built well upon the foundations laid by Gomperz and Philippson; the translation is faithful and readable, and both the explanatory notes and the supplementary chapters contain much that is valuable for the study of Epicureanism in the Roman period.

D. T.

Philo and the Oral Law: the Philonic Interpretation of Biblical Law in Relation to the Palestinian Halakah.

By SAMUEL BELKIN. Pp. xiv + 292. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1942. 20s.

This book may be described as an attempt to assess part of the Jewish element in Philo as distinct from his debt to Hellenism. Three sources have been suggested for much of the legal tradition in his works, namely, Greek and Roman jurisprudence, Palestinian Halakah and the decisions of Jewish courts in Egypt. While Professor Belkin is far from denying any contribution from the other two sources, he argues that in the main Philo's legal statements are based on the Palestinian Halakah. Chapter I states the problem, Chapter II investigates the terminology of the Oral Law in Philo and his knowledge of Hebrew, and Chapters III-X examine the legal evidence in detail. Apart from its virtues of clarity and arrangement, the study is particularly valuable as being made from a careful knowledge of the Palestinian evidence, a knowledge frequently lacking in expositions of Philo. In one point Professor Belkin's arguments might be questioned. He maintains that, beside using the LXX, Philo shows a knowledge of the Hebrew original of the Law. But this apparent knowledge of the Hebrew may be explained otherwise. It is probable that on occasion the text of Philo's quotations from the Law in Cohn and Wendland represent a corrected text, and the text that Philo quoted is to be found in the readings of the apparatus criticus which diverge from later LXX standards. It may be that the real text of these passages sometimes accounts for Philo's agreement in his exposition with the Hebrew. Further, though as early as the Greek version of the Pentateuch there was a traditional exegesis of the Law, Professor Belkin does not allow for the existence of this exegesis in Philo's time and for its influence on his explanations, even when they are contrary to his text of the Law. It might be wished that in this connexion Professor Belkin had given more weight to Dr. Goodenough's words quoted in a note on pp. 35-36. However, this does not detract from the general value of the book, which can be highly commended for its treatment of its theme.

G. D. KILPATRICK

Aeschylus in his Style: a Study in Language and Personality.

By W. B. STANFORD. Pp. 147. Dublin: University Press. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1942. 10s. 6d.

Professor Stanford has followed his earlier books on *Metaphor* and *Ambiguity* with this admirable little book,

which he calls 'A Study in Language and Personality.' Perhaps war-time restrictions made an index locorum impossible, though this would have been most valuable for reference when reading Aeschylus. 'Drastic abridgements' are mentioned, and perhaps precluded a fuller treatment of Aeschylus' relation to Phrynichus and other tragedians. The comparison of Aeschylus to El Greco and Sophocles to Leonardo is just, but in this journal at any rate the reviewer may be allowed to suggest that to equate the series Phrynichus-Aeschylus-Sophocles with either Aegina-Olympia-Parthenon or Euphronius-Cleophrades ptr.-Achilles ptr. would have been even more pertinent and instructive. But this is the best book on Aeschylus' style that has so far appeared in English, and gives a detailed account of his borrowings from other authors, his choice of words, and his imagery. Although the details are all given, as the title says, the book is not only a study in language, but a study in personality as revealed in language, and therefore tells us not only more about Aeschylus' style, but also more about Aeschylus himself.

T. B. L. W.

Aeschylus and Athens: a Study in the Social Origins of Greek Tragedy. GEORGE THOMSON. Pp. xii + 476; pl. 1 + 2 maps and 9 text figs. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1941. 21s.

Professor George Thomson introduces this most controversial book by writing, 'This is an attempt to reinterpret the plays of Aeschylus, on which I have been working for many years, in the light of the general evolution of Greek society and in particular the transition from tribal society to the state. The range is of course so wide that I should have been glad to spend more time on it, but in the immediate future research is likely to be difficult, and therefore I have decided to publish it without delay' (Preface, p. vii, dated September, 1940). Many of its conclusions are admittedly provisional, but it is hoped 'that it will help to convince classical scholars of the need for a new approach to their problems' (the advertisement on the dust-cover).

It is only fair to remember these statements, and to assume that the book is not quite a definitive publication. It is very much better to have it as it is than not to have it at all, or not for several years; and allowances should be made, if much is asserted with only hasty proof. Apart from many excellent treatments in it of parts of its large subject, the reference of Greek Tragedy to its wider context, and some acute intuitions which originated the book, ought to be of high ultimate value. The danger is that in the meantime as much harm as good may be done.

The book is based on Marxist assumptions and on certain theories of anthropology and psychology which cohere with the economic and materialistic philosophy of history. In these branches of science the best modern authority is sometimes seriously challenged. The Greeks and their ancestors are conceived to have developed from a 'primitive horde,' through phases of 'primitive communism,' 'group marriage,' and matrilinear institutions, to a system of sharply antagonistic economic classes, and to a cultural order in which totemism, the central cult of initiation at the Men's House, and connected practices and beliefs, had left not only traces, but structural lines. Straight and simple directions for this development are sought; and there is a strong tendency to treat as purely economic whatever has an economic aspect.

There are thus two main risks of error, one in the major premiss—that is, the materialistic scheme of human history in which Athens and Aeschylus are set—and the other in minor premisses, in which individual facts are identified as having a certain place and certain relationships in the universal scheme. Many will think that the former risk is the more serious, on the ground that a denial of God, of the soul, and of a large part of the psychological knowledge now available, restricts any discussion of Greek poetry. The other risk will also seem serious. It is precarious to identify the cultural stages among the Greeks, at any historically fixed time, with stages identified as generally encountered in the anthropological material. The Greeks of history may have left similar stages behind, but very remotely, and the intervening complications, with much

interaction between groups at different levels of progress, reduce the probability of inferences, even if the universality of cultural sequences, with details generally recurrent, were better established than it is. Thus totemism, still a very obscure subject, is not yet proved to have existed in Greece, though I must admit that Professor Thomson has made it seem much more probable. Again, it is not certain that purely matrilinear institutions occur anywhere; and though in parts of Greece strong matrilinear influences undoubtedly once existed, there are plenty of doubts about times and places. Initiations in many parts of the world have strong similarities. But there are also diversities, and a universal pattern is hard to establish with any but the simplest detail; even in a narrow context, such as on the Malekulan islands recently described by Mr. John Layard, the complications are hard to thread; and it is dangerous to classify details of Greek rite within a wider pattern which itself is varying in different parts of the world. Greece had economic forces; but the theory of their total and exclusive control, in Greece or anywhere else, is not the kind of theory likely to be permanent, even if it were much more generally accepted than it is. Human choice retains its mysteries, and many suspect with Bergson that '*la vie c'est l'indétermination*'; and, even if it would be unfair to add that the Arunta never had an Aeschylus, though they had economic laws, it is scarcely unfair to see grave risk in thus fixing, or removing, the limits of economic control in Antiquity. The relation of poetry, especially tragic poetry, to current fact, political, economic, or other, is an important problem, and Professor Thomson deserves gratefulness for approaching it so boldly. But it cannot be solved on his too simple formula. Aeschylus, like the Moirai, Prometheus, the Orphics, Anaximander, Pythagoras, and other personalities who are economically interpreted in the book, may have taken shapes and tensions from economic, among other, phenomena; but that is only a little of it. Patterns and symbols go deeper than that.

Yet Professor Thomson has probably seen with acute intuition, and boldly said, much that others have suspected but for lack of proof forbore to say; and of this much may turn out to be true. To some extent this might be said of his identification in Greece of the initiation pattern of the Men's House, with its emphasis at every stage of life on the ritual intention of rebirth. Here I think that he is much more right than wrong, though the pattern is fragmentary in Greece and the place of details often obscure. The traces of the pattern in the Dorian education of Crete and Sparta are effectively demonstrated. The parallels are not so close for the Eleusinia, but they offer considerable probability. Here help might have been derived from Speiser; a reference to Zijderfeld would have corrected the interpretation of *ταπειν*, which means the completion of any observance, and is not peculiarly applicable to initiations, as being a completion of the personality or of anything else; and Körte's recent arguments, that at the Eleusinia the preservation both of the community and of the individual soul were intended, might have been considered. For the Olympic Festival the parallels again have some force, and here the late Professor Cornford's fine reconstruction is well developed. On Dionysiac cult the identifications are more speculative. The account of dithyramb is not very satisfactory, and forces the evidence, Here and elsewhere some Greek words are overboldly explained, and perhaps a more scientific and comprehensive critique of myth might be desired. Thiasitic orgies, dithyramb, *ἀσκολισμός* and comparable practices, and the Attic Dionysia cannot yet be clearly related in a single unity; here Ziegler's article on *tragedia* in *RE* might usefully have been cited, especially for his account of the distinction between the Aristotelian tradition of tragic origins, and the Hellenistic tradition represented by Horace. Professor Thomson writes very well on Aristotle, but he is less successful in vindicating Aristotle's version of tragic origins than in his very progressive explanation of *κάθαρσις*, on which, however, he might have cited Dr. J. Tate. The later part of the book is mainly an exposition of individual tragedies. It is of great value and merit, and the treatment of the *Electra* of Sophocles deserves special praise.

On the whole, in spite of what look like distortions and hasty arguments in the service of the materialist theory of history, the book either achieves, or seems to suggest, considerable advances in knowledge. Among them is a new chance to rescue the sound, but obscured, parts of some of Ridgeway's views; he too failed in argumentation when he succeeded in intuition. Such results are offered by some new and illuminating parallels from tribal institutions, relevant to the rise of tragedy but hitherto not applied to it. We may yet come to understand how both Dionysus and the revered dead made their contribution.

A book can survive the faults present in *Aeschylus and Athens*. Beneath much that is unsound there is an acute power to see. And there are secure results which in better times could have filled a better, if smaller, book. May we feel glad in the hope that, fully according to the rules of Engels, it will work dialectically, challenging its antithesis into existence, and infusing much that will help the culminating synthesis that is to be?

W. F. J. KNIGHT

The People of Aristophanes: a Sociology of Old Attic Comedy. By V. EHRENBURG. Pp. xii + 320; pl. 19. Oxford: Blackwell, 1943. 25s.

It is surprising that there has not been more interaction between the study of social history and that of drama, in particular of comedy. The value of comedy as a source to the social historian can be direct; since it concentrates upon a side of man's nature which is not normally stressed, but which is none the less important. Indirectly also, its value is great: the fact that the audience at a certain time laughed at a certain thing provides a guide to the limits within which they thought. Similarly, for the literary critic, the recreation of the background of a comedy is a necessary part (though only a part) of his task, since a great deal of the superficial side of comedy is essentially topical. The lack of co-operation between these two branches of scholarship is all the more surprising in the sphere of Old Attic Comedy. As an art form, this comedy is at once a *comédie de situation* and a *comédie de mœurs*; consequently for the social historian it provides a great deal of evidence about a period for which other evidence is none too great, whilst for the critic it raises a host of problems which can only be answered by reference to history.

Thus, the appearance of Dr. Ehrenberg's new book "The People of Aristophanes" is very timely. It would be impertinent to criticise it as a work of scholarship. Steering a sure course between the dangerous shoals of dramatic convention and exaggeration, it is an admirable collection of all the evidence in Aristophanes and Eupolis regarding the social life of the people with whom they were dealing. The arrangement of the evidence is also, on the whole, good; though in this connection it is unfortunate that the continuity of the book is impaired by the incorporation of the references into the text.

Nevertheless, in spite of the very competent way in which Dr. Ehrenberg has handled his material, it is difficult to see exactly what he intended to achieve by confining his study within the limits which he has chosen. He gives it the rather ambiguous sub-title of "A Sociology of Old Attic Comedy." Whichever way this is interpreted, one feels that he has fallen between two stools; if it is intended as a background to the Old Attic Comedy, then it suffers very much from the absence of co-ordination with other evidence, ceramic, numismatic and that of inscriptions. It is obviously impossible to create the background to X wholly from X. Similarly, the absence of co-ordination with other evidence seriously affects the validity of the judgements in the book from the point of view of the social historian. The feeling remains that the value of Dr. Ehrenberg's book is rather as a source-book for some future study either of Aristophanes, or of the social life of fifth-century Athens; as a water-colour study for a broad canvas still to be painted.

H. R. L.

Politics, Finance and Consequences. A Study of the Relations between Politics and Finance in the Ancient World with Special Reference to the Consequences of Sound and Unsound

JHS—VOL. LXII.

Policies (Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. LXV). By C. J. BULLOCK. Pp. viii + 212. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1939. 10s. 6d.

It has become, during the last decades, almost a fashion among economists to write from time to time books on the problems of ancient economics. Very few of these books have been successful or even useful—with the one exception of Max Weber's great works. Even the fullest command of the facts and laws of modern economics usually proved to be a poor guide, especially when it was supported by only a slight knowledge of the modern literature on ancient history, and an even slighter acquaintance with the ancient sources. This exactly is the case with the book which the Emeritus Professor of Economics at Harvard has written as the first contribution on antiquity among the Harvard Economic Studies. As the title indicates, it is a mixture of political history and the history of finance. The former is treated in a very superficial and entirely derivative manner, without any really new line of approach; the latter produces a number of generalisations most of which are based upon utterly insufficient evidence and a generous neglect of chronology.

The first two chapters deal with Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Israel. In all these countries, and first under the 18th Egyptian dynasty (what about the 12th?), Professor Bullock discovers a 'law' of development according to which the height of power (Thutmose III) is followed by the height of magnificence (Amenhotep III), which in turn brings about financial distress and thus general decline. Even if true, this rather trivial theory is far from covering the essential facts; to prove this, we need only point out that the representative of the last stage is the famous Akhenaton, the highly refined founder of a new religion. Bullock, however, even attributes the alleged development of the other Eastern kingdoms to direct Egyptian influence and to a sort of international royal code.

In Persia and Lydia (Ch. III) the author finds a different kind of financial policy, that of accumulation of treasure and of sound expenditure. His characterisation of the 'shopkeeper' Darius (Herod. III. 89) is interesting, but the general picture and the fundamental antithesis between the two types are unconvincing.

Greek finance is dealt with in three chapters, which are characterised by light-hearted generalisations embracing every age from Homer to the third century B.C., but contain at the same time a few more detailed paragraphs of more or less sound reasoning, e.g., on the finances of the tyrants, on *σιτοποία* and liturgies, on Demosthenes (depending on W. Jaeger's book). The description of Athenian democracy on the whole runs on familiar lines, even in some of its errors and misjudgements. The author seems to realise that in overstressing the general importance of finance he is one-sided and mistaken. He writes (p. 148) about democratic Athens: 'Her misfortunes ought not to be attributed primarily, still less exclusively, to unsound finance. On the other hand, the strength of the city and its great recuperative power were not due to sound finance . . .'. But this excellent statement is not reflected in the general trend of the book.

The last chapter deals with 'Two Commercial Oligarchies.' Both in the depreciation of Carthage and the praise of Rhodes one-sided generalisations are even more predominant than elsewhere.

V. E.

Teachers' Pay in Ancient Greece. By C. A. FORBES. Pp. 60. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1942. 75 cents.

This is a pleasant essay on an interesting subject. Starting from the isolated and uncertain example of Charondas' law on public teaching, Mr. Forbes deals carefully with our evidence throughout the centuries. The sophists, the orators, the philosophers, the elementary teachers and *grammatici*, the teachers of special subjects, and the university dons—all have their turn. In short, this readable booklet provides a good survey of our knowledge, but there it stops. No attempt is made to compare educational fees with the earnings of other people and the cost of living. Next to nothing therefore is said about the most interesting,

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though most difficult, question, that of the economic and social standing of the different groups of teachers during the various periods of Greek civilisation.

V. E.

The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian. By A. H. M. JONES. Pp. x + 393. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940. £1 15.

Mr. Jones' monumental work deserves something better than the short and belated review which by force of circumstances is all that the present writer can give. It will not be possible to discuss the book in detail, but only to stress a few important features.

The most obvious is what may be called the architecture of the book. Mr. Jones rightly groups his enormous mass of material under systematic headings, but his guiding principle is the historical development of the cities of the Near East as parts of the Hellenistic kingdoms, the Roman and the Byzantine empires. On the solid foundations, laid by his previous book (*The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1937) and represented here by the first section (*The Diffusion of the City*), three large pillars arise (Part II-IV) which carry the covering roof (Part V). The pillars are foreign policy, necessarily restricted to the *Relations with the Suzerain*, the constitutional aspect, called *Internal Politics*, and the activities of the cities, united under the heading *Civil Services*. The roof is perhaps a little light for the heavy substructure. Under the title *The Achievements of the City* the economic, political and cultural importance of the cities is discussed, with results hardly in accordance with the true statement that 'the history of Greco-Roman civilisation is the history of the cities'. The architect, while erecting his large and imposing building, was bound to realise that his materials were partly not of the best; thus, it seems, he had grown slightly disappointed when he came to apply his finishing touches, with the result that he fails in some degree to give due credit to the achievements of the cities.

Neither the economic nor the cultural importance of many cities is sufficiently emphasised; the remarks on literature are inadequate; and architecture as a source of social evidence is hardly exploited. An interesting point is the survival of the native languages. 'The difference in language between the urban aristocracy and the peasantry implies a deep cultural cleavage', but both in pre-Christian and Christian times the separation of town and country was at least partly counteracted by mutual religious influence. We need think only of the great 'Eastern' city of the West, Carthage, to realise how strong even after the complete destruction of a hellenised city the spiritual and probably also the biological influence of the native element remained. The whole problem seems not quite solved by stating that an aristocracy of parasitic landowners and a luxury trade which served this class were alone responsible for the wealth and civilisation of the cities, and that the lower urban classes and especially the country-side had hardly any share in this.

It is an enjoyable feature of the book that time and again the author, though clad in the full armour of his stupendous and austere scholarship, interrupts his sober and matter-of-fact story by short illuminating remarks of a more pointed character which sometimes, though not always, strikingly emphasise decisive facts. I give a few examples. Alexander as the 'champion' or even 'apostle' of Hellenism has been proved for some time past to be a much too simple formula. But the policy of most of his successors is well characterised, the financial background of Antiochus Epiphanes' policy disclosed, and the suggestion made that dynastic city-names 'mark the grant of a charter of autonomy'. The work of the kings, however, was less important than is generally assumed; 'the motive force which produced the vast majority of cities of the East was the ambition of the native upper class to adopt the Greek way of life'—undoubtedly a most remarkable statement. The changing part played by democracy is well pointed out, and it is useful to learn that the privilege of *suis legibus uti* never meant real autonomy, but 'the right of self-government under a constitution which might be imposed by Rome'. As early as by the beginning of the second century B.C. 'the term democracy

came to be watered down so that it meant little more than constitutional republican government'. What a decline in the political energy of the Greek cities is witnessed by the fact that the Byzantine emperors' 'chief anxiety was to galvanise them into activity'! Another interesting aspect of this development was the rise and decay of the Curial Class during the later empire. The ephebate, originally an Athenian invention, spread almost everywhere, 'as a kind of university training for the sons of the well-to-do'. This is certainly a more appropriate interpretation than that of the Dionysian *technitai* as an 'international trade union'. Most important for the understanding of the development of the Later Roman Empire is that 'neither in the bureaucracy nor in the army did any true imperial loyalty emerge. . . . The sentiment of civic loyalty was, on the other hand, deep and strong. . . . Civic patriotism died from inanition, and as it died the machinery of local government began to run down'.

As these quotations indicate the book is written in a clear and vigorous style. It is in fact interesting throughout, and this in itself is a remarkable achievement, if one considers the tremendous amount of detailed facts that had to be used, and the dreary nature of much of the evidence, particularly the innumerable monotonous inscriptions. The reader is led by a smooth path, smoother indeed than is justified by the character of the sources and problems. There is a certain danger in this—a danger which is increased by the fact that in the extensive notes most of the sources are cited, but very little of the modern literature; only rarely is a disputable question discussed. Since there are, and always will be, very few people whose knowledge of the subject is comparable to that of the author, the book will be used less as a basis for discussion than as a work of reference. In most cases, however, Mr. Jones' sound judgment will serve this purpose admirably.

V. E.

Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters. By J. D. Beazley. Pp. xii + 1186. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942. 63s.

This book is one of the most remarkable feats of scholarship ever performed: that is obvious to those who know Professor Beazley's work and have traced its development from *Attic Red-figure Vases in America* through *Attische Vasenmaler und Vases in Poland* to this majestic volume; there may, however, be readers of the *Journal* who do not understand quite how great the accomplishment is; if they will imagine someone who was faced with the whole of Greek literature but only had authors' names for half a dozen works and then proceeded on grounds of style to create authors for all the surviving works, they will have some idea of what has been achieved.

In this book over 15,000 Athenian vases have been assigned to their painters, half as many again as in *Attische Vasenmaler* published 18 years ago. The new book includes, besides the vast mass of late sixth-century and fifth-century red-figure vases, the black-figure work of the early red-figure painters, the white-ground vases of the fifth century, and early fourth-century red-figure. In this way Buschor's work on white lekythoi, Miss Haspels' work on lekythoi, and Hahland's work on late Attic red-figure have been absorbed into the whole—absorbed but also re-thought and where necessary re-modelled.

The general grouping of the painters in chapters and the brief notes that precede the list of each painter's works make it possible to trace the history of Greek drawing from the late sixth to the early fourth century. Such remarks as these give the main lines: 'Phintias' latest work is connected with Myson and so with the Pan painter'; 'The Berlin painter issues from the group of Euthymides and Phintias. The Providence painter, Hermonax, and the Achilles painter were his pupils'; 'The Villa Giulia painter belongs to the following of Duris'; 'Polygnotus issues from the school of the Niobid painter'; 'The Cleophon painter belongs to the late group of Polygnotus'; 'The Dinos painter was a pupil of the Cleophon painter'. These guiding hints show the way for anyone who will take Beazley's book and look up his references to accessible pictures of the vases.

Those who prefer a different method of art study will find an admirable guide in Dr. Paul Jacobsthal's index of

mythological subjects; this makes it possible to discover how different painters painted the same subject and the material is rich enough to allow reliable conclusions as to what subjects were popular in what years.

A few notes of detail: the Menon painter is now known by his name of Psiach and his oeuvre has been greatly increased. Some vases previously assigned to Euthymides have now been given to the Cleophrades painter in his earliest period. A group of cups previously assigned to the Panaitios painter has been separated off as a proto-Panaitian group, but the possibility of the Panaitios painter being Onesimos is still entertained. Diepolder's identification of the Pistoxenus painter with the Penthesilea painter is rejected. A list is given of vases from the Penthesilea painter's workshop on which two hands can be traced.

Now that this definitive work on red-figure is complete, it is perhaps greedy to ask for more, but it is to be hoped that Professor Beazley's already published studies on Black Figure vases are the nucleus round which 'Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters' is rapidly forming.

T. B. L. W.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: U.S.A. fasc. 8, Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections. By G. H. CHASE and M. Z. PEASE. Pp. 116; pl. 64. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Humphrey Milford), 1942. 30s.

Parts of both collections have already been published in the *Corpus* ('Hoppin and Gallatin'). The new fascicule contains the rest. The text is careful and scholarly, and most of the pictures clear and good: the backgrounds, however, have been painted out, and some of the photographs have been taken from too high a point. I do not repeat in my review the many valuable observations made by Dr. Amyx in his (*AJA.* 1942, 576-7). In the Gallatin half I do not refer to *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, since Miss Pease gives the references; in the Harvard half I do, for Prof. Chase was not able to quote the book, nor do all the Harvard vases appear in my index, as the fascicule did not reach me until the last stage of printing; moreover, some of the museum numbers have been changed.

Harvard. Etruscan. Pl. 6, 2: in the same style, Vatican 136 (Albizzati, pl. 13) and Philadelphia (Dohan *Italic Tomb-groups*, pl. 52, 17). Pl. 6, 5 and 6, see *R[ecolletti]* *G[uglielmi]*, 73, no. 83. Pl. 6, 8 and 9, see *ibid.* 73, no. 82. Attic bf. Pl. 9, 4: imitation of the Griffin-bird Group, to which Tübingen D35, quoted by Chase, belongs, while Tübingen D 34, also quoted, is related. Pl. 11, 3: cf. Toronto 327 (Robinson, pl. 50). Pl. 11, 362; pl. 12, 1; pl. 12, 2; pl. 12, 3; pl. 12, 4; pl. 12, 5: all manner or following of the Haimon painter. Pl. 12, 6, Beldam painter. Pl. 12, 10: workshop of the Athena and Bowdoin painters? Attic rf. Pl. 13: *ARV.* 264, no. 16; the third device on Ic is a panther's head. Pl. 14: late follower of Douris, somewhat recalling the Villa Giulia painter. Pl. 15, Splachnopt painter (*ARV.* 962, foot); much repainted. Pl. 16, 1; *ARV.* 356, no. 3. Pl. 16, 3: *ARV.* 138, no. 38. Pl. 17, 1: *ARV.* 968, top. Pl. 17, 2: *ARV.* 938, no. 51. Pl. 17, 4: *ARV.* 141, no. 48. Pl. 17, 5: extraordinary subject: wretched drawing, but nothing modern, as far as I can see, except a little repainting of the fractures. The old woman is not 'standing on a pedestal decorated with volutes': the block is this side of her: on it, a snake; this side of it, a pair of snakes. The man holds a snake, and what looks like a bunch of grapes. The woman holds a purse or little bag in her left hand, and in her right something small, not visible in the photograph, according to Chase a flower. The man has the look of a customer, the woman of a vendor; or the other way round: but what on earth is happening? Pl. 17, 6: *ARV.* 938. Pl. 18, 1: *ARV.* 968, top: cf. perhaps the Goluchow skyphos *CV.* pl. 43, 3. Pl. 18, 3: I originally attributed this to the Euaion painter, but in *ARV.* 535, no. 25, I thought it more prudent to speak of 'an undetermined follower of Douris': now that I have seen a reproduction, I find that my original attribution was correct (*ARV.* 961, below): one of the painter's later works. Pl. 19, 2: *ARV.* 968, top. Attic bf. on white ground. Pl. 21, 3: there are two subjects: (A) a youth and a boy on a platform, and a man looking on: the upper parts are lost, but the

boy was no doubt singing, the youth playing the flute; B, a citharode. Pl. 21, 7: Athena painter or his manner. Pl. 21, 8: the same. Pl. 21, 9: the drawing looks modern. Attic white. Pl. 22, 1: imitation of the Achilles painter. Pl. 22, 2: Woman painter or very like. Black. Pl. 24, 2: as B.M. 63.7-28. 105, which is not, I thought, Attic. Pl. 24, 4: as Ryberg fig. 115 and fig. 119 b, from Rome: Italian. Pl. 24, 10: as Cairo 26.215 (Edgar, pl. 12). Pl. 24, 12, as B.M. old black number 1043. Pl. 24, 15 is certainly from Gela. Pl. 24, 16, a good example of Bloesch's 'Acropolis cups'. Pl. 26, 7: cf. *RG.* 95, no. 122, and the parallels cited: I took those to be Etruscan. Pl. 26, 10: Etruscans of the 'Malacena' fabric, see *RG.* 93, no. 116. 'Apulian'. Pl. 35, 6 is Etruscan, see *RG.* 85-6, on nos. 95-101. Black. Pl. 37, 2: cf. *CV.* Gall. pl. 32, 7. Pl. 37, 7: Teanan? cf. two oinochoai from Teano, Oxford 1911.74 and 1911.89. Pl. 37, 9: cf. *Sg. Vogell.* pl. 6, 39, and one in Oxford. Pl. 38, 6, Attic.

Gallatin (the whole collection now belongs to the Metropolitan Museum). Pl. 33, 14: I had suggested that this, and a cup of somewhat similar style in Heidelberg, might be Boeotian imitations of Attic: but Miss Pease doubts this, and so does Prof. Ure; so the suggestion had better be withdrawn. Attic bf. Pl. 35, 2: Leto rather than Hera. Pl. 37, 1: related to the Leagros group: group of Villa Giulia 15536 (Villa Giulia 15536, *CV.* pl. 9, 1-2; Cab. Méd. inv. 223b, *CV.* pl. 42, 6-8; Orvieto, Apollo with gods and goddesses; Berkeley 8.3376, *CV.* pl. 20, 2). Pl. 37, 2: related to the Leagros group: cf. the much-repeated Compiègne 988. Pl. 38, 2: Leagros group; within it, group of Würzburg 210 (Würzburg 210 and 214; Toronto 306; Munich 1568, J.161, Triton). Pl. 40, 2: group of the midget Panathenacs (Shoe in *Hesp.* 1, 86): two round aryballoi come from the same fabric, one in Oxford (*CV.* pl. 43, 9), the other in the Vlasto collection; and many of the small vases, decorated with scales or network, collected by Bulas (*BCH.* 1932, 388-98) and Miss Haspels (*ABL.* 167-8), all those, for example, figured by Bulas. Pl. 41, 5, Philon painter, see *ARV.* 967, foot. Pl. 43, 1: *ARV.* 928, middle. Pl. 43, 3, the warrior seems to be leading the horse. Pl. 44, 2, the forerunner should be Iris rather than a Nereid. Pl. 45, 4: Pistias shape (*AJA.* 1935, 479); manner of the Haimon painter. Attic rf. Pl. 56, 2: maenads rather than Demeter and Persephone. Pl. 58, 3: the relation to the Berlin painter is remoter than I thought at first, and I should no longer describe the vase as in his manner. Pl. 59, 7: in front of the head, not, I think, a quiver, but a left hand holding a phiale: Apollo, all the same (Apollo with phiale, London E516, C. Smith *BM. Cat.* iii pl. 18, 2). Pl. 62, 1: nearest the shape, Lau pl. 9, 6. Pl. 62, 14: Attic?

J. D. B.

Les Chefs d'Œuvre de la Peinture Grecque. By G. MÉAUTIS. Pp. 220; pl. 74. Paris: A. Michel, 1939. 50 fr.

'It will be seen by perusing this volume that it is now possible, thanks to the researches of archaeologists, . . . to identify some of the finest works of Greek art by attributing this or that fresco of Herculaneum or Pompeii to this or that famous artist.' So the author in his preface: but he does not mean what he says. He means, of course, no more than that some of the Campanian wall-paintings are copies of pictures by famous Greek artists of the past; but he has not said so, and the lack of precision is typical of the book. Fig. 8 is described as 'The Marriage of Alexander, after Sodoma'; and it is indeed from a photograph of Sodoma's fresco. But fig. 9 is described as 'Achilles in Scyros, after Athenion.' 'After' is evidently used in another sense. Fig. 10 is also 'Achilles in Scyros, after Athenion.' Now the paintings reproduced in figs. 9 and 10 go back to a single original; but they differ widely. The painting fig. 10 is better than the painting fig. 9, and may be more faithful. But how faithful is it? And even if the design should have been copied with moderate accuracy, what of the colour? Similarly, fig. 4 is 'The Calumny of Apelles, after Botticelli'; fig. 5 is 'Io and Argos, after Nikias.' But fig. 6 is also 'Io and Argos, after Nikias'; and what has it in common with fig. 5 beyond the main lines of Argos and Io? and which 'copy' is the less faithful?

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The fact is that if the researches of archaeologists have shown anything, it is that the question of copy and original in the wall-painting of the Roman period is exceedingly complicated and the greatest caution always essential. Prof. Méautis is well aware of this, but sometimes he seems to be tempted to act as if he were not. The public should not be allowed to fancy that the researches of archaeologists have made it possible to appreciate the styles of 'Nikias,' or 'Athenion,' or 'Timomachos'; or even to say with certainty just what is fourth century, Hellenistic, Graeco-Roman in drawing, colouring, or spirit.

The author has somewhat handicapped himself by excluding vases, and especially fourth-century vases, from his survey, on the ground that they have been treated elsewhere: they are a pure source; the best of them, Attic or Italiote, tell a great deal about fourth-century drawing, and a few—for instance the Jason and Pelias in Würzburg—something about the colour as well.

Most of the reproductions, considering the small scale, are good; but the selection is not uniformly happy. The book is called 'Masterpieces,' and many of the works chosen are far from that. Some of the most unpleasant are admitted because they are derived from noted originals: so the Io and Argos, fig. 5, and the Arrival of Io, fig. 24; but there is no such excuse for Polyphemos and the love-letter (fig. 34), the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia (fig. 3), or trivialities like figs. 26, 28, or 61. I have always wondered how anyone who had seen a good white lekythos could take the Leto and Niobe (fig. 2) seriously; but Prof. Méautis has the majority of scholars on his side. The few mummy-portraits chosen are not sufficient to give a notion of the scope and interest of the class. Pfuhl's clumsy jest about the Giron Hermione (p. 199) was really not worth repeating. In the mosaics of Dioskourides (figs. 21-22) the restorations should have been specified.

The early part of the book gives traditional characterisations of Polygnotos, Apelles, and others, founded on the well-worn ancient texts. P. 12: Oinoc; Odysseus and Philoctetes; Diomed; Orestes; none of these are assigned to Polygnotos by Pausanias. P. 17: Neoptolemos was not slaying Elaios. P. 18: Krino was daughter, not wife, to Antenor. P. 28: Aiora? P. 48, top: no one says that Zeuxis' heads were large. P. 48, middle: his motive was to show his wealth—according to Pliny. P. 50: Mysis' centauro-machy was doubtless a later enhancement of the Promachos; and to provide designs for Mysis was not beneath the dignity of an 'artist'. P. 61: γραφικώτερος is mis-translated and two chestnuts run into one. P. 61, foot: 'at the price he demanded' misses the point, such as it is. P. 68: Protagenes' satyr was not 'couché'. P. 72: 'Thamyras citharoedus' was the subject, not 'Thamyras becoming blind for having dared to vie with Apollo.' P. 74, at Triteia: youth not child.

P. 10: the Thermos metopes are not 'end of the sixth century or beginning of the fifth.' P. 10: Lyseas. P. 45: centauro-machy, S. side of the Parthenon, not W. P. 99: Pentheus is represented youthful as early as 480 B.C. Pp. 121 and 122: métragyrtes? P. 126: the flute-player wears a phorbeia, not a mask. P. 153: if the Flower-gather measures 38 x 32 cm. it is only because it was cut to that size in modern times: it is a tiny piece of a large wall-decoration.

The author rightly holds that some knowledge of religion and mythology is useful for the understanding of ancient works of art, or as he would prefer to put it, he insists on 'the emotive value of the religious and mythological background'; but in reacting from those who see nothing but lines and masses, he almost reverts to the standpoint of the anecdotal artist and the academician who seeks to make his head of a young woman more effective by labelling it 'Pandora' or 'Jephtha's daughter.' Here is part of what we are told about the Ariadne in Naxos (fig. 35: pp. 146 ff.): '... C'est l'amour, l'amour humain qui l'a entraînée. ... Mais, lorsque son frère corps de jeune fille, épuisé de sanglots et de plaintes, s'est abandonné au sommeil, alors survient l'événement mystérieux, l'éclosion subtile de la fleur de l'âme, l'ivresse de l'extase divine succédant à la cendre des passions humaines, au désenchantement qu'amène fatalement l'amour qui s'attache aux seules créatures. ... [Ariadne est] l'équivalent antique de cette

pécheresse, purifiée également par son amour, transfigurée par la présence du Christ et dont il a été écrit: "Ses nombreux péchés ont été pardonnés car elle a beaucoup aimé" (Luc 7, 47).' Now, whatever was in the mind of the painter, it surely was not this: Mr. Méautis is an admirer of *Le roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* (p. 38), and he has composed *Le roman d'une jeune—well, a pendant.* He anticipates this criticism and quotes Propertius 3, 17, 6-8 as a proof that the thought is antique. But Propertius does not say anything about sin or redemption or spiritual purification by means of divine love: his mistress having failed him, he announces his intention of turning to the bottle and drinking himself to sleep.

The third and last chapter of the book is entitled 'The Principle of Balance in Ancient Painting.' This is a topic on which it is not difficult to be trite; and the author has certainly succeeded. More attractive, in the second chapter, the descriptions of the Villa dei Misteri, the mosaics of Dioskourides, the Aldobrandini Wedding: these have warmth and show a genuine enthusiasm.

Mr. Méautis speaks with dissatisfaction of Miss Swindler's *Ancient Painting*. There, however, the English reader will find a sober and straightforward account of the subject which he may prefer to the somewhat highly perfumed pages of this little book. It is a matter of taste, and the requirements of a French audience are not quite those of a British or American.

J. D. B.

The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins. (*Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, XI.*) By E. R. CALEY. Pp. viii + 203; pl. 4. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939. \$2.50.

Professor Caley and his collaborators have chosen Greek bronze coins for systematic study because these supply abundant material of definite origin and more or less certain dating. For chemical and metallographic examination samples were obtained by discarding the outside layers of the coins and using only the core of the metal, this being taken to be representative of the unchanged alloy.

Concentrating first of all on a series of coins from Macedon, it was demonstrated from the accordance of the analyses with data obtained by earlier investigators, that haphazard variations in composition were exceptional and that minting had been carried out according to a formula. As results multiplied certain facts were found to be peculiar to certain sites, while others proved in due course to be of general application in all the localities which were the subject of special study: Athens and its dependencies, Sicily, Corinth and various sites in Greece proper—and to Greek civilisations abroad—Sicily, Olbia, Syria, Egypt and several localities in Asia Minor.

Perhaps the most important observation is that at the earliest period copper and tin alone are the principal components of the metal of Greek bronze coins. There are systematic changes in composition with time; to a much less extent with place of origin. Lead is introduced; it increases at the expense of tin, and latterly the proportion of lead much exceeds that of tin.

For purposes of comparison, the relations of tin and lead to copper and to each other are conveniently set out in the form of 'component ratios' based on the analyses, and by this system insignificant complications due to the presence of non-metallic impurities or oxidised metal are eliminated. It emerges that in the first type of variation where lead increases, the proportion of the sum of tin and lead to copper remains nearly constant, probably because of the use of tin-lead alloys in the casting formula instead of pure tin. Alloys were thus obtained which were more suitable for coinage. In the second type, the fall in the tin content is accompanied by a much greater rise in the lead content, so that the proportion of the sum of the alloying metals to copper does not remain constant. This is explained by lead having been added to bronze of the composition of coins used earlier in the series—evidently worn coins were melted with definite proportions of lead, a practice apparently confined to late periods. Such alloys are described as 'leaded bronze.'

Now that detailed analyses of long series of consecutive

coins are available for purposes of reference, it may be possible to solve a number of numismatic problems. For example, fractional coins which are sometimes difficult to classify on purely numismatic grounds by reason of their small size and lack of symbols and mint marks may be fitted into their place in the series by their chemical analysis, and definite information may be forthcoming as regards the vexed question of restrikes. Counterfeits and imitations may be recognised as such. Evidence from chemical analysis may have the effect of narrowing the period of issue previously assigned to coins, or, as in the case of the Corinthian series studied by the author, it may provide support for the suggestion made on archaeological grounds that the period of use extended in fact beyond the date normally assigned.

The evaluation of the less important minor constituents and impurities of the alloys would seem to be of less significance than might have been anticipated: there is a sameness in this respect in the analyses of Greek bronze coins from different places and widely different periods of time. Zinc tends to be present with greater regularity in the late coins, and arsenic is a common impurity where there is much lead. No coin was found to be entirely free from iron, and next to iron nickel occurred most frequently, gold rarely and silver not at all.

Oxidised copper ores were no doubt used at the earliest period for the production of the copper required for minting. As to the method of minting, evidence is forthcoming from the results of the analyses taken in conjunction with metallographic examination: circumstances of size, alloy, etc., determine whether coins were to be cast or struck and whether struck on cast blanks or on metal obtained otherwise than by casting.

It is clear, as the author points out, that the numismatic evidence must still remain the primary basis for the solution of problems of provenance, dating, etc., but he has succeeded in demonstrating how 'the conjunction of the chemical and numismatic evidence often leads to conclusions or suggestions that could not be reached from either sort of evidence used alone.' The monograph goes a long way towards satisfying the lack of accurate analytical data for properly documented bronze alloys of antiquity, and the value of systematic chemical recording will be more apparent as data continue to accumulate and the many gaps in time-sequence and minting sites are gradually filled.

H. J. P.

Greek Walls. By R. L. SCRANTON. Pp. 194; 24 text figs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941. \$3.00.

The value of this book would have been increased if it had adopted more generally-accepted practical definitions of masonry throughout. Thus, by all means invent 'trapezoidal'—it is not a bad term—but do not stretch it so far as to include the wall in Fig. 12, which, to a modern mason, would represent a rubble wall built, for the most part, of irregularly-worked blocks. The present reviewer can claim the review mentioned on p. 20, footnote, and is still unconvinced about the use of the term 'ashlar,' nor are some of the author's meanings of it borne out in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edn.) article which he quotes. In such a genuine and useful attempt to straighten out various kinds of Greek masonry in a particular field, it is a pity that terms like 'isodomic' are used; they mean nothing to the practical mason, who, again, would not accept 'irregular ashlar,' any work in this category being 'squared rubble.' The book shows evidence of much research and is a useful reference one of a limited kind (in general, only fortification walls are included), particularly on account of the excellent lists in Appendix III, with their full documentation; but it is unfortunate that it is so sparsely illustrated. Thus, the very fine wall at Larisa (Aeolis), mentioned on pp. 31 and 159, is extremely interesting not only for its ordinary walling, but for its slightly-projecting stringcourses. The geographical restrictions of the book rule out Sicily and Magna Graecia, so that the walls of Paestum, Hipponion and Selinunte are not included: some of the finest material can be got from these sites. There is hardly sufficient examination of the whole question of drafted joints and corners (extremely interesting where, as

at Priene temple bastion, they are combined with rock-faced treatment), which is, perhaps, the outstanding contribution of Greek masonry; though the writer considers that the author is correct in insisting on deliberate conscious method in these treatments. The clear division of the two kinds of so-called 'polygonal' masonry into 'Lesbian' and 'Polygonal' is useful. It is unfortunate that such a neatly-bound and well-produced volume has no title page.

T. F.

The Lion Monument at Amphipolis. By OSCAR BRONEER. Pp. ix + 76; pl. 11 + 37 text figs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941.

This sumptuous volume seems to have been primarily intended as a gift for the subscribers to whom we owe the restoration of the lion. The sculptor of the restoration, a Greek, was to have supplied an account of his work, but this projected section and certain detailed notes and measurements could not be obtained because of the German invasion of Greece. Other relevant matter was omitted since a French collaborator had already published it in the *BCH* for 1939; unfortunately for English readers, since few, if any, copies can have reached this country. In its absence, a review of the American book is likely to slip into error or injustice.

The lion, a marble figure 5.30 metres high, carved in several dozen blocks, was restored with extreme care and forethought. The missing portions—except for the tail, of which there is no trace—were supplied in concrete tinted to match, which cannot be distinguished in the photographs; their precise limits had presumably been made clear in the French publication. In other respects the figure in the photographs can certainly be accepted as an absolutely faithful reconstruction. It has been replaced *in situ* on a concrete pedestal faced with ancient blocks, in such a position that the passer-by sees it at roughly the same eye-level as in antiquity, though the original support was taller. It was also far more complex and ornate.

The lower part of the monument was square and measured nearly ten metres a side at the foundation. Above ground it was faced with Doric half-columns engaged in the wall and standing on steps; their entablature has not been found. On top came a stepped pyramid, from the centre of which rose a pedestal of unknown height to carry the lion. The height of some individual steps is known but not their total number. The height of the Doric facade is not measurable. But, 'from contemporary analogies', as the monument is ascribed to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., the half-columns are assumed to have been $5\frac{1}{2}$ times as tall as their lower diameter (which is estimated from the upper diameter). The original height of the top half of the monument is calculated with the aid of a restored drawing which shows what is required to make a satisfactory design, in conjunction with ingenious calculations involving the dimensions of each course.

This restoration has however certain features aesthetically objectionable but inevitable from the height given to the columns. The drawing allows four half-columns a side and is obliged to place no less than three triglyphs over each intercolumniation, which seems scarcely plausible for the end of the fourth century; yet to increase the height of the frieze and reduce the number of its elements would wreck the design, as experiment will show. Apart however from scarcely tenable arguments that the use of Doric and good mason's work indicate fourth century rather than later date, the shape of the capitals is the only evidence produced for that conclusion and it is unconvincing, while every other criterion merely establishes that the monument is not older than Hellenistic.

Strangely enough, little use is made of the lion in this connection. There is no comparison with the lions carved on the Alexander Sarcophagus, although a theory is advanced that both monuments commemorate the same man; yet there is some stylistic discussion with reference to other figures, including 'the one' (*sic*) lion from the Mausoleum in the British Museum! While it is rash to date a sculptured lion by its style, it should be easy in this instance to show a fair measure of probability that it is considerably later than has been assumed—perhaps a century later, or even a

century and a half. The Greeks had a tendency to humanise the faces of lions, so that the features and expression changed with time just as did those of their human figures, and *pari passu*. In the Mausoleum, for instance, the human and lion faces alike are smooth and calm, in the Alexander Sarcophagus they frown under beetling brows, in the Pergamon gigantomachy the features are monstrously heavy and register all requisite emotions. The Amphipolis figure must come late in this series, and it appears from the photographs (which are perhaps more striking than instructive) to wear that Duce look first popularised by the Hellenistic monarchs.

Taking this new basis of conjecture, the Doric order can be restored from analogies of advanced Hellenistic date at Pergamon and Alexandria (the Mustafa Pasha tombs). A multiplicity of triglyphs becomes plausible, though the height of the frieze can be increased till rather fewer are needed, because the half-columns can themselves be restored much taller, in accordance with the Hellenistic preference for slim columns. Accordingly there is no longer any need for such a high pedestal under the lion to bring him to the required elevation, and he will therefore cease to sit in ridiculous isolation as though perched on a box. Sketching it out, this alternative 'period piece' is seen also to be better balanced than the fourth-century scheme, for the relative size of the lion is reduced and he is thereby brought into proportion with the Doric facade. There appear therefore to be several grounds for dating the monument somewhere about 200 B.C.; a closer dating might be possible on a detailed comparison of the lion with those of the Belevi tomb and of water-spouts.

A. W. LAWRENCE

The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors. By HOMER A. THOMPSON. Pp. 160; pl. 4 + 105 text figs. Baltimore; American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1940. \$5.

Observations on the Hephaisteion. By W. B. DINSMOOR. Pp. 171; pl. 1 + 76 text figs. Baltimore; American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1941. \$5.

(American Excavations in the Athenian Agora. Hesperia: Supplements IV and V.)

Both these publications illustrate in different ways the great importance for the history of Greek architecture of the American excavations in the Athenian Agora. While Thompson's account of the Tholos reveals in masterly detail a monument hitherto known only from literary and epigraphical sources, Dinsmoor's penetrating analysis of the new evidence for the 'Theseum' throws much light on one of the most familiar of ancient buildings.

The Tholos, first built, as the style of the original roof-tiles and the datable pottery finds combine to prove, about 470 B.C., survived in use, despite catastrophes and changes, till the fifth century A.D., and its long history is here traced with admirable care and insight. The opening sections (pp. 1-44) discuss exhaustively the earlier structures on or near the same site, mostly dating from the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. These do not resemble the Tholos in form, but include a group (F to K) with the same function of providing the Prytaneis with living-room, kitchen and chapel: this group was often modified, and was much damaged by the Persians, but it was quickly reconditioned, and remained in use till the erection of the Tholos. An older group (C to E) bears a similar relation to the archaic and classical Bouleuteria: these old buildings are here carefully described, but the Bouleuteria themselves are not treated in detail, though their identity is firmly established.

The Tholos, as its name implies, was a circular structure, and curiously unpretentious in plan and execution, for its walls were seemingly, above a few poros courses, of unbaked brick, and till Roman times its main door, opening to the east, had no porch. The gay roof-tiles, many of which survive, were its liveliest feature: they covered a wooden roof resting on six unfluted poros columns, which were arranged with pleasing unconventionality in a compromise between a ring concentric with the wall and an east-west scheme of nave and aisles. The kitchen, at first detached, was reached through a north door, and there was an

elaborate drainage system. The columns were removed in the second century A.D., when a marble pavement replaced a mosaic laid down a hundred years earlier: till then the floor had been plain clay. Minor finds included fragments of the standard weights and measures officially kept in the Tholos, and of simple terracotta table ware, very different from the plate epigraphically recorded.

Dinsmoor's observations on the Hephaesteum are another welcome foretaste of that comprehensive account of fifth-century architecture which he is uniquely qualified to write. Though he here covers much ground, he disclaims any attempt at a detailed architectural study of the temple, badly as that is needed. His main purpose is to present and weigh the new evidence provided by the American excavations.

The first thirty pages are chiefly concerned with the temple's fortunes as the Church of St. George, and with the many graves sunk in its floor between the middle ages and the opening of the nineteenth century, when, for a short time, the Greek clergy let it be used as a Protestant burial-place. The first Protestant so buried was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, the ingenious but unfortunate John Tweddell, who died at Athens in 1799 at the age of thirty, and the choice of the Theseum was a brilliant device of Fauvel's for finding the bones of Theseus without appearing to look for them. Dinsmoor gives in full the curious story of the disputes over his Greek and Latin epitaphs, which, like most of the rest, perished in the chaos of the War of Independence, but are preserved in travellers' copies. It will not escape the classical scholar that the last line of the Rev. Robert Walpole's Greek poem, as printed by Dinsmoor on p. 21, does not scan, but this is not the fault of the author, a competent versifier, but a misprint in the Rev. Robert Tweddell's *Remains* of his brother, published in 1815, which also trapped Laurent in 1821. The true reading (ΚΕΙΣΕΑΙ, not ΚΕΙΣΑΙ) was printed in 1814 in Clarke's transcript, which Robert Tweddell copied, and the misprint is in fact corrected in a manuscript list of *Errata* added by the author to the Trinity Library copy of the *Remains*. A Fellow of John Tweddell's College may perhaps be forgiven for wasting space on so trivial a point.

Far more important than these preliminary matters, are the contents of the next hundred pages, which deal elaborately with the new evidence, especially that provided by the careful analysis of the foundations, now first fully exposed. The results are of the highest interest. The details of the foundation jointing prove that the ground plan was twice modified in the course of the work, and that in its final form the Hephaesteum, unlike the other three temples which Dinsmoor convincingly attributes to the same unknown architect (those at Sunium and Rhamnus, and the Temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora) had an inner colonnade. This colonnade was Doric, in two tiers, and on an ambulatory scheme, like that of the Parthenon. It seems to have consisted of eleven columns, five on each side and three at the west end behind the cult statues, and its restoration is confirmed by the evidence of a block from the upper epistyle, found by Orlandos in 1937 in the modern east wall of the church.

Other modifications successively reduced the length of the cella, chiefly to the advantage of the pronaos, which in the final scheme (C) was to the opisthodomos as 4:3. The dimensions of the temple are based on the familiar 'Attic foot' of c. 0.326 m., for which Dinsmoor here, as in *Hesperia IX*, p. 20, n. 40, substitutes the term 'Doric foot', a change which the ambiguity of the old names makes desirable and welcome.

The excavations have most fortunately yielded also external evidence for the temple's date, in the form of fragments of pottery and ostraka, and it now seems certain that building was begun about 450 B.C.: there are other grounds, partly astronomical, for selecting the definite date 449 B.C. Dinsmoor allows about five years for the building, and suggests that the inner columns, with their ambulatory scheme, were an afterthought, between stages A and B, imitated from the similar schemes already adopted by Ictinus (on Dinsmoor's view) at Bassae, and already planned by him for the Parthenon. The Hephaesteum is to be regarded as the earliest of its architect's four known

temples, the other three following in the order Sunium, Ares, Rhamnus. It is likely that an earlier Hephaestum, on a less artificial site further south, was burnt in 480 B.C., and reconstructed in temporary form after the Persian retreat.

Another matter elaborately discussed is the old and bitter controversy about the treatment of the inner wall-surfaces. Dinsmoor concludes that both the stippling of the marble surface and the lead waterproofing of the joints prove that it was intended to apply stucco and to add mural painting, but that neither stucco nor paint was in fact applied in antiquity, perhaps because of the intruded inner colonnades, though it seems that some of this preparation must have gone on after the change of plan.

The new finds include parts of the bases of the cult-statues, in dark Eleusinian limestone, pieces of the sima, indistinguishable from those of the Temple of Ares, and some doubtful bits of metope and pediment sculpture. Dinsmoor concludes with an interesting discussion of the Hephaestum's historical setting, now placed on a firm chronological basis, and a short appendix discusses in detail problems raised by the ostraka.

D. S. ROBERTSON

The Sacred Gerusia (American Excavations in the Athenian Agora. Hesperia: Suppl. VI). By

JAMES H. OLIVER. Pp. 204; 33 text figs. Baltimore: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1941.

The occasion for this book was the discovery, during the American excavations of the ancient Agora at Athens, of three inscriptions (numbered here 24, 31 and 32). They were entrusted to Mr. Oliver for publication, and he has made an extremely workmanlike job of it, and in effect made a study of the various *Gerusiae* of the time of the Roman Empire, drawing material from Ephesus, Stratonicæ, Tralles, Apamea, Thessalonica, Philippopolis and other cities. Once or twice he gives us unpublished material; always the text of the inscriptions has been carefully worked over, and is never a mere reproduction. Here, then, is a volume which is of great importance for any student of Greek institutions under the Roman Empire, and generally for Greek social and economic history.

These *Gerusiae* are not all of one form, and the Ephesian one goes back to before the days of Lysimachus. But by the time of the Empire, from being a purely social institution they have become sometimes municipal, sometimes a sort of Financial Board for the management of temple estates and funds, and concerned with expenditure on public religious festivals. It looks as though the Roman emperors of the second century took a benevolent interest in the affairs of these *Gerusiae*, supporting them, and even favouring their institution, and Mr. Oliver has some very good general pages (48-50) in which he discusses the reasons for this. He would hold that it is part of an attempt to breathe fresh life into the official and city religion of the ancient world, and to counteract 'spiritual forces of a new and perhaps subversive character.' This is how the situation may well have appeared to Hadrian and his successors: if temples were being deserted as Pliny relates (*Epist.* X, 96), if Epicureans and Christians were subverting belief in the traditional gods, these able rulers realised that a policy of repression alone against these movements would be of little avail, unless it were supported by a revival of religious festivals, with their accompaniments of processions, ceremonies, splendour and junketings, in which all the population might join. Into these festivals, too, even though the god or goddess of the city was the ostensible object of the celebrations, the imperial cult and the figures of the ruling house were being steadily and skilfully insinuated. Moreover, the *Gerusiae*—these managing boards—would be composed of elderly, cautious, heartily pro-Roman elements in the population, pillars of stability and 'sound finance', and Rome would be ready enough to back them. Such is the general picture: Mr. Oliver is most careful to warn readers that it is as yet incomplete and not a certain one, simply 'a probable story'; but it is a very attractive one. This policy of the Antonines, sincere and subtle, finds its culmination in the efforts of Maximin to rehabilitate and exalt the pagan

priesthoods and ceremonies, and in the moral and religious reforms of the earnest Julian.

Some other points call for comment. In the newly-published letter of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (no. 24) there is a fresh example of the emperors refusing gold statues offered them, for fear of incurring envy. They intimate that they would prefer to gold or silver statues small and inexpensive bronze *protomai*, which can easily be moved to various places. They are prepared, however, to allow their names to be placed on the bases, readily accepting such an expression of loyal devotion. These they accept, *ἀλλὰ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐπιφθονὰ ὀκνοῦντες ἐν ἅπασιν καιροῖς διδὼν καὶ νῦν ὁμῶς εὐγνωμόνως ἐμφανίζομεν ποιήσασθαι μόνον χαλκῆς ὡς τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ἡμῶν καχορισμῶν.* Here we have the emperors employing a very old formula, discovered (as I believe) by Augustus, and traceable in various pronouncements of Tiberius, Germanicus and Claudius (for the literature see *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XV, 1939, 1); it is interesting to find it in use two centuries after Augustus, and it must be one of the latest uses, for Commodus and his successors were not likely to adopt such an attitude. These inscriptions, too, reveal not only the generosity and public spirit of the richer citizens, but also the comparative poverty of many of the Greek cities and the hand-to-mouth existence that they often led. A city is short of funds, there is a sudden emergency, a famine—and the only hope lies in the generous donations of a small body of wealthy citizens. Time and again the same person (or persons) come forward and undertake burdens. There was too little initiative and resource in the cities themselves.

This seems to me a model of what such studies should be, and I shall look forward to reading more from Mr. Oliver.

M. P. C.

Excavations at Olynthus. Part X, Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds: an Original Contribution to Greek Life. By D. M. ROBINSON.

Pp. xxvii + 593; pl. 172 + 33 text figs. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1941. 120s.

Excavations at Olynthus. Part XI. Necrolithia: a Study in Greek Burial Customs and Anthropology. By D. M. ROBINSON.

Pp. xxvii + 279; pl. 71 + 26 text figs. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1942. 90s.

In their subtitles these volumes claim to be more than mere publications of Olynthian finds; and such a claim is justified, though less strikingly than in Vol. VIII. A mass of important new material is presented with a thoroughness which makes it fully and conveniently available. The author constantly makes wide comparisons and draws general conclusions; often he traces the history of the class of objects illustrated or shows diverse cultural influences at work on Olynthus.

Vol. X presents over 2600 metal objects. In some categories the material though impressive in quantity inevitably becomes a little monotonous, and the excellent illustrations are extravagantly numerous. Most of the material is of the late fifth and early fourth centuries, though some is archaic. Professor Robinson finds corroboration of his Olynthian chronology; but those who doubt his contention that Olynthus virtually ceased to exist in 348 will not have their doubts finally removed by Vol. X (or XI); believers on the other hand are not likely to have their belief shaken. Most of the objects are naturally small and useful, and made of bronze, iron or lead ('the amount of lead is unusual'); there is little more valuable stuff. Vol. X gives the impression, as does XI too, that the Olynthians were mostly people of moderate wealth. However, a number of the items have considerable artistic interest.

Ch. I deals with statuettes and reliefs. Most remarkable are two bronze reliefs (with a young nude male figure and an Asiatic king; perhaps Apollo and Croesus) which Professor Robinson explains as parts of a horse's breast-plate. There is a statuette of a comic actor, probably a cook; some twin lead herms; and fragments of a relief of winged deities whose legs end in griffins.

Ch. II. *Jewellery and Personal Ornaments.* These include

beads; bracelets, mostly of the type with two snakes' heads; earrings and fibulae of many varieties; and finger-rings, the bezels of which have a great variety of designs, some very delicate, some with rather mysterious subjects (452, 461); the silver ring 474 is inscribed ΔΩΠΟΝ in gilt letters. A wreath of bronze leaves and clay berries was found in place on a skull.

Ch. III. *Toilet Articles*. A silver lid shows Cybele in a lion-car. There are several mirrors; the finest has a head of Athena, apparently a simplified Parthenos. Strigils are very numerous.

Ch. IV. *Furnishings*. Most impressive is the well-preserved bronze brazier (the 'bowl' 573 certainly looks like the pan of another). There are two fine bronze mesomphalic phialae with ring handles; and sieves or graters, lamps, ladles and many handles of various kinds.

Ch. V. *Structural Material*. Among door-fittings is a fine fifth-century lion-head knocker (or rather handle, if one considers the position of the ring; contrast Wiegand, *Prine*, Fig. 325). Perhaps the curious holes in the sides of the pivot-sockets 1288 ff. are merely for economy in bronze. There is a great assortment of nails; and clamps, some of strange design. The iron dowel set in lead (2541) might have been included here.

Ch. VI (*Tools*) deals with knives and swords (hard to distinguish) and varied instruments of carpentry, agriculture, surgery, etc. Among the still is a fine specimen with crocodiles' (?) heads. Fish hooks and netting needles are remarkably numerous.

Ch. VII. *Arms and Armour*. Most types of arrowhead, usually in bronze, are well represented. Spear-heads, nearly all of iron, are numerous too (three spear ends are given as arrowheads in Pl. CXXIV). Of the 500 sling-bullets over 100 are inscribed, with XAA, OAY, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, the names of Philip's generals and others, and more obscure inscriptions. (May not ΑΙΣΧΡΟΔΩΡΟ be a humorously coined name?) By means of the bullets Professor Robinson throws interesting light on the attack of 348. A well-preserved shield rim has been found.

Ch. VIII. *Weights*. These the author recommends for further study on account of their curious divergences. One has the inscription ΠΕΛΕΚΥΣ, 'which is probably a survival from the time when bronze axes were used as barter or currency.'

Ch. IX. *Miscellaneous*. This includes horse-bits, on which Professor Robinson gives extensive notes; a revolving rattle (from a child's grave), which he thinks a mere plaything, not magical; an Athenian dicast's bronze ticket; and keys of several types.

Some earlier Olynthus volumes have been criticised for not giving 'archaeological contexts' in full. In X the place of discovery at least is given with most items, usually a particular room of a house, or a grave; and Professor Robinson expresses concern at lack of precise information in some cases. A 'Concordance of Proveniences' is given at the end, and the author suggests that further study of this would be profitable.

Vol. XI deals with the cemeteries, in which about 600 graves have been excavated, mostly of the fifth and fourth centuries; 'the graves seem to end quite abruptly' at 348. Part I gives a careful description of all the burials; Part II analyses and discusses them. The Appendix publishes nine skulls which Mr. J. Angel has reconstructed (a difficult task, since remains at Olynthus are badly warped and disintegrated in the damp earth). Illustrations are very full, and in most cases good, considering the difficult nature of the subjects.

The 'riverside' cemetery on the west was most populous. None of the groups of graves shows any orderly arrangement. Often a later burial encroaches upon or is superimposed upon an earlier. There are very few possible fragments of funeral monuments. The corpses almost always lay supine; with the head usually to the east, though there were many variations.

One grave (596, a child's) was found within the city. There were three multiple burials, close together (nine, nine and twenty-six corpses) probably of casualties in fighting. The handsome chamber tomb was built under a mound about 1040 m. west of the town. The walls were stuccoed and painted in horizontal bands of blue, white

and red; the ceiling was probably of wood. The tomb was probably built early in the fourth century (a coin and pottery confirm this). Professor Robinson now believes that the burial was probably a secondary cremation, and the tomb never contained a coffin. In a preliminary report he suggested that the occupant was a distinguished statesman or general; and no further evidence is forthcoming. It is sad to hear that every stone has been stolen since excavation.

The proportion of cremations was as usual low—not more than 10 per cent.; most were primary, though a few may have been secondary. Among the inhumations were several stone sarcophagi, and a number of wooden coffins, of which usually only the nails were left. Most Olynthian burials were simple and cheap. Commonest of all is the gabled-tile type; but many had tiles laid flat either directly on the body or resting on the sides of a narrow trench. 'There is no difference in the types of graves from the earliest to the latest or in their construction or arrangement.'

Thirty per cent. of the burials found were of infants or small children, and even this probably does not indicate fully the rate of infant mortality. Most infants were buried in amphorae, usually broken off at the shoulder to allow the insertion of the corpse. Professor Robinson says (n. 50, p. 172), 'In view of our excavations I believe that exposure of infants was rare'; but it is difficult to see what the evidence is.

Grave furniture was found in about 60 per cent. of the burials, though usually very meagre. It was most frequent in cremations and coffins, and surprisingly above the average in simple 'unprotected' burials which are very numerous; for this reason in particular the assertion that none of these ever had coffins is not entirely convincing. The 'furniture' is of a miscellaneous and casual nature; some objects are inappropriate to the age or sex of the deceased. Much of this material has been published in earlier volumes. It includes, besides many vases of various kinds, and jewellery, feeding-bottles, eggs (two), a very few lamps, many terracotta figurines (mostly in children's graves); about 1000 astragali. About 10 per cent. of the burials contained coins (mostly of the fourth century and none necessarily later than 348); these were usually placed in the mouth.

The author very reasonably concludes that 'funeral customs were free and open to variations, and were loosely interpreted. This is to be expected of a people who, though profoundly religious, had no precise creed.' Constant comparison with material from other sources leads to the further conclusion that in spite of variations due to local conditions there was an essential uniformity in Hellenic custom.

In the Appendix Mr. Angel, after his careful description of the specimens and analysis of their characteristics, showing the influence of various types at Olynthus, concludes, 'The study of these Olynthians and other Greeks shows at least that the first civilisation of Europe was achieved by a highly mongrel, much mixed and subtly blended people.' Tables of comparative measurements are appended.

R. E. W.

Manuel de Géographie, Syrie, Liban et Proche Orient. Première Partie: La Péninsule Arabique. Par L. DUBERTRET et F. WEULERSE. 193 pages; 182 figures dans le texte. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1940. 15 Fr.

Conçu dans un esprit pédagogique plus que proprement scientifique, l'ouvrage se propose de faire connaître les pays sous Mandat français et ses voisins immédiats du point de vue géographique et géologique et aussi du point de vue de la géographie humaine. L'avertissement affirme aussi que les problèmes historiques, politiques ou confessionnels ont été abordés dans l'esprit de la plus scrupuleuse impartialité.

L'avertissement a visiblement été écrit pour un ouvrage plus vaste tel qu'il a été primitivement conçu, c'est-à-dire en deux volumes dont l'un devait remplacer la Syrie et le Liban dans leur cadre géographique naturel, le second devait traiter en détail les diverses régions des pays sous Mandat.

La Guerre ayant empêché la réalisation du projet, les auteurs ont décidé de publier la première partie seule. II

convient donc de renoncer à critiquer ce petit volume du fait qu'il est incomplet et qu'il souffre de beaucoup de lacunes dans les matières qu'il se propose de traiter: 30 lignes sont consacrées à la Transjordanie, 3 pages de texte à la Turquie, une à l'Iran, sans une bibliographie pour satisfaire le lecteur ainsi alléché.

Néanmoins, ce Manuel contient beaucoup de matière instructive présentée avec clareté, notamment en ce qui concerne les deux pays que les auteurs connaissent le mieux, la Syrie et le Liban. Pour la péninsule arabique proprement dite, les renseignements ont été puisés à de bonnes sources, mais qui restent anonymes. Là aussi, l'absence de références est à regretter, car le lecteur est rendu désireux d'apprendre d'avantage, ce qui est le but d'un bon Manuel, but d'ailleurs pleinement atteint dans ce petit volume.

L'illustration est excellente. Un index manque.

C. F. A. S.

The Treasury of Persepolis and other Discoveries in the Homeland of the Achaemenians (Oriental Institute Communications, 21). By ERICH F. SCHMIDT. Pp. xxi + 139; pl. 18 + 15 maps, and 65 text figs. Chicago; University Press, 1939.

It is not often that books dealing exclusively with the ancient Near East command general interest and yet prove valuable to the student of classical antiquity. This volume succeeds in both respects. It is another of those fascinating and sumptuously illustrated publications which the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has been issuing for the last decade. Its organiser, the late James H. Breasted, had extended the scope of its enterprises in 1931 to the Achaemenian remains of Persepolis, and the results of the campaigns 1935-1937 are published in the present volume. Even a hasty glance at the many excellent illustrations will show the wealth and variety of the material brought to light, while the methods of aerial mapping and aerial survey introduced here for the first time will make the book extremely valuable and interesting to every archaeologist.

The Aeronautical Department of the Expedition, founded by Mary Helen Warden Schmidt in 1935, has contributed a great deal to the volume. The splendid air views of Persepolis, of Naqsh-e Rostam, and of the Persepolis plain show very clearly the importance of these new methods of exploration and survey. As Schmidt puts it: 'It would be impossible for any surveyor to produce a drafted topographical map of the area here shown and to indicate all the innumerable details appearing on the air view.' It may be added, however, that such spectacular success can only be achieved in an area not densely populated, where every single ruin and every trace of ancient brick-work become clearly visible from the air.

Part of this volume deals with the discoveries made during tests, clearings, and restorations on the Persepolis Terrace, as well as during soundings near Persepolis (e.g., Naqsh-e Rostam, Istakhr, and Tall-i-Bakun). Especially interesting are seals with a great variety of designs, metal objects, and vases of alabaster or lapis lazuli which the author shows to have been brought to Persepolis as spoils from Egypt. E. F. Schmidt has an excellent way of dealing with the results of his exploration. He is modest in his claims and not dogmatic about his own theories, yet he displays an enthusiasm and an ardour which recall the nineteenth-century generation of our classical archaeologists. His descriptions are adequate and clear, and the wealth of information enables the reader to criticise the author's views.

It is to be regretted, however, that the author, when commenting on the objects found, or when dealing with the chronology or development of types, has paid so little attention to the almost inexhaustible reservoir of Greek art in Asia Minor and in the Aegean generally. More light could have been thrown on a good many of the discoveries made at Persepolis. For instance, the pedestal composed of three lions attached to a bronze socket might have become less problematical and more interesting by a comparison with similar stands from Greece and Asia Minor. The striking resemblance to an early archaic group from the Heracon at Olympia should have been stated. The bronze group of two galloping horses, cast in one piece,

should not only have been compared with Assyrian models, and indeed this comparison does not help to explain any of the peculiarities of this group. Assyria was never the centre of bronze technique. Surely the time has come to drop the old method of trying to find out what one nation borrowed from its neighbour, and to turn to a new way of looking at things, i.e. to start with a full view embracing the whole of the Near East and the Mediterranean Basin as one single world of homogeneous or heterogeneous experiences, all distinct, but all somehow related to each other. Thus, when a piece of bronze sculpture is to be examined and no parallels are forthcoming, should not the thought occur at once, either to look for the centre of bronze technique at that time, or to compare all the other similar products found in this ancient world of Eurasia? Much more could have been said about that astonishing piece of metal work on the sword of the carrier of the royal battle-axe on the southern audience relief. The fact might have been mentioned that, on a relief of this kind, all the minor details have their importance and their meaning, and we cannot understand them properly unless we trace them back to their origins and to the ways in which they had been employed on other occasions.

The main feat of the campaigns described, however, is the discovery of the Treasury. In the south-eastern part of the Persepolis Terrace a block of buildings was uncovered which were identified by their contents as royal store-houses and armories. The character and value of many finds justify the term 'Treasury.' Its large courtyard, called Court of Reception, is surrounded by porticoes, two of which are ornamented with audience reliefs on huge orthostats. These reliefs show all the persons who appear on the well-known porticoes of the Hundred Column Hall, but one figure is added: that of the crown prince standing behind the throne of his father. Schmidt is probably right in assuming that this fact helps to date the reliefs. He says the king must be Darius, and the crown prince can only be Xerxes, who so emphatically states in some of his inscriptions that his father chose him as his successor in preference to his brothers. As this relates to the year 490, and as Darius died before 485, it seems to give a comparatively accurate date to the two reliefs. But it will be remembered how emphatically Ernst Herzfeld once stated that the corresponding reliefs in the Hundred Column Hall must represent Darius. Later, a foundation document was found showing that it was Artaxerxes I who completed the Hundred Column Hall on the foundations prepared by his father Xerxes. Thus even Herzfeld, unequalled as an authority on ancient Iran, had to correct his identification.

As for the Treasury reliefs, Schmidt states that the decisive factor is the presence of the second person of royal rank, the crown prince. On this he bases his identification of Darius and Xerxes, with Aspathines to the left and Gobryas to the right. But was not also Darius II in 439 chosen as crown prince by his father Artaxerxes I in preference to his brothers, and was not Artaxerxes II in 424 chosen crown prince by his father Darius II? It must be remembered that there are only two great reliefs definitely dating back to Darius the Great, the Baghistan relief and the tomb of Darius. If the Treasury relief goes back to this date, the carrier of the royal battle-axe (the second dignitary behind the king) may well be Aspathines, as on the tomb of Darius. But the lance-bearer on the right cannot be Gobryas, for on the real Darius reliefs Gobryas is the first dignitary of the state, standing behind the king. And Gobryas *patishwaris* probably does not mean 'the Patishorian,' for he was a Persian noble and of the family of the Mardunijan; it can only mean a title which we are not able to translate, corresponding to the title of Aspathines *wasabara* (= 'carrier of the royal battle-axe'). In contrast to the two existing Darius reliefs, the first dignitary of state on the Treasury reliefs is far from being a warrior-prince like Gobryas, the father of Mardonios and father in law to Darius himself whom he had helped to the throne: he is a man with a long dress (no Persian trousers) and a muffler cap, without a beard or moustache (which would be visible above the muffler), and with a neatly folded napkin in his right hand. Schmidt thinks he may be a eunuch, and that is quite possible, for literary

sources of the time of Artaxerxes indicate that the first dignitaries of the state were eunuchs. But this precisely points to a later date for the reliefs. With Darius, the first dignitaries were generals, the men who helped him to win the throne. No such figure as this 'eunuch' occurs on the two existing Darius reliefs. It does, however, occur on the corresponding audience reliefs of the Hundred Column Hall which were set up by Artaxerxes I. And it is well to remember that with Artaxerxes I we are in the heyday of Mazdaism which was instituted as the state religion by Xerxes and Artaxerxes I. It may well be that this so-called eunuch was a high priest of the empire, characterised as such by his dress, and thus performing the functions of the first dignitary of state at the court of Artaxerxes I. This is just to show that it is not much use stating anything very emphatically before the Treasury has been completely cleared and foundation documents discovered. Schmidt may be right with his early date, but the absence of Gobryas and the presence of the muffled first dignitary as on the Artaxerxes reliefs are rather unsatisfactory.

Another fact has been stated with accuracy by Schmidt: All those who on this audience relief are shown in close presence of majesty are persons of high rank. He had at first believed that the two figures on the left and one of those at the right were lance-carrying guards. Some details have convinced him, and he shows with very good evidence that none of them are simple guards and all persons on these audience reliefs are some sort of dignitaries of state. The number of persons figuring on the Treasury reliefs and on the audience reliefs of the Hundred Column Hall are seven, apart from king and crown prince. Darius, however, in the Baghistan inscription mentions his six generals by name and gives them prominent rank which he meant their families to hold in all the future. On the tomb of Darius these same six men appear, with the same names, standing on either side of the king. Xenophon records that it was Artaxerxes I who instituted the seven dignitaries of the state and that this institution continued down to his time; Herodotus confirms this by mentioning the seven princes, and the Book of Esther does the same. These were no longer members of the six old families whom Darius and Xerxes had promoted to high rank, for most of those families had been exterminated by that time. Nor were they all generals by any means. These seven high dignitaries had become part of the court ceremonial. The rank remained, but the person and family could be changed, and thus they figure on the reliefs of Artaxerxes I in the Hundred Column Hall, without any inscriptions.

The whole group of audience reliefs really deserves a separate study, and it is a great pity that this has not been done yet. The present volume forms an important contribution towards this end. The points on which one may differ from the author, as in the instances just shown, are of a nature that does not impair the value of the book as a whole. This value is determined chiefly by the quality of the material described, by the clarity and accuracy of the descriptions, and by the adequacy of the illustrations. In these respects it leaves little to be desired. It is extremely useful to those concerned with Greek art in the fifth century, and of permanent value to those interested in the Near East.

F. J. TRITSCH

Early Pottery of the Jebel el Region. By A. M. H. EHRLICH. Appendix by E. O. FORRER. Pp. 129; pl. 24 + 3 text figs. Philadelphia: American Philological Society, 1939.

Dans ce travail sont publiées les récoltes céramiques rapportées par Dr. Emil Forrer de plusieurs sondages exécutés par lui en 1934, pour le compte du Bryn Mawr College, au Qalaat-er-Russ et sur le Tell Soukas situés sur la côte syrienne au N et au S de Djéblé (ou Jebel), le Gabala phénicien. Un court rapport du fouilleur est publié à la fin (Appendice II, p. 113 à 125); il aurait, logiquement, dû être placé en tête du petit volume.

Sur le Qalaat-er-Russ, tel à peu près carré d'environ 300 m de côté, à l'embouchure du Nahr Russ et à 45 km au S de Ras Shamra, Dr. Forrer a reconnu au-dessous d'une couche superficielle non stratifiée de 2 m 30 d'épais-

seur, quatorze niveaux archéologiques atteignant ensemble une épaisseur de 10 m. D'après A. M. Ehrlich, les plus anciens de ces niveaux remonteraient au Néolithique, vers 4000 environ. Les données stratigraphiques et céramiques sont, à mon avis, insuffisantes pour permettre des conclusions, même provisoires. Je renonce à leur discussion.

Dans le niveau V entre 4 m 10 et 5 m de profondeur, Dr. Forrer observa les murs en briques d'une habitation sous le sol de laquelle gisait un squelette accompagné d'un torse aux extrémités ourlées, d'une grosse épingle à tête renflée comme une massue et col percé, de bracelets en fil de bronze et de plusieurs perles biconiques en bronze, d'autres sphériques en cornaline et quartz (fig. 2). Lors d'une visite à Ras Shamra, Dr. Forrer me montra ses trouvailles. Leur identité avec les parures retirées des sépultures à la base du niveau II de Ras Shamra ne fait pas de doute. La tombe de Qalaat-er-Russ est par conséquent contemporaine de l'Ugarit Moyen I (2100-1900). Cette date est plus élevée que celles proposées par Dr. Forrer (XVIII^e s.) et par A. M. Ehrlich (XIX^e s.). A propos de ces trouvailles, le second auteur fait allusion aux torques et épingles identiques de Byblos trouvés par Mr. Montet et considérés comme importés du Caucase depuis un article publié par H. Hubert dans *Syria*. Cette hypothèse n'est plus soutenable, maintenant, que Ras Shamra et le Qalaat ont démontré que ces torques et épingles ont été utilisés comme parure par une population installée à demeure sur la côte syrienne au début du II^e millénaire. D'un autre côté, comme nous le démontrerons ailleurs, le Caucase, contrairement à ce que l'on a parfois admis, n'a jamais livré des torques et épingles de ce type (cf. nos *Eléments de Chronologie de Ras Shamra*, en préparation).

Sous le niveau V qui a restitué la tombe au torse, Dr. Forrer a reconnu une couche d'incendie épaisse de 60 cm qui, d'après lui, marque une interruption dans l'habitation ancienne de cette partie du Qalaat (l.c. p. 118). Plus bas, les ruines d'un important bâtiment antérieur à l'incendie furent mises au jour. Se basant sur l'examen de la céramique, A. M. Ehrlich, à son tour, était amenée à supposer l'existence d'un hiatus chronologique au Qalaat qui d'après elle, s'intercalerait entre 2300 et 1800 (l.c. p. 50).

L'analyse de la structure stratigraphique du Qalaat par Dr. Forrer et A. M. Ehrlich correspond à mes observations à Ras Shamra. Là aussi, les tombes aux torques et grosses épingles percées de l'Ugarit Moyen I se trouvent à la base d'une couche qui succède à un niveau d'incendie lequel marque une interruption dans l'habitat du tell. Il est à présumer que les événements qui avaient causé cette rupture dans la séquence stratigraphique des deux sites si proches l'un de l'autre, étaient les mêmes à Ras Shamra qu'au Qalaat. Cette observation permet d'appliquer au Qalaat la chronologie élaborée à Ras Shamra. Il est ainsi possible de serrer la date de l'hiatus du Qalaat de plus près et de l'attribuer à la période entre 2300 et 2100 (au lieu 1800).

D'après A. M. Ehrlich (l.c. p. 30, pl. XVII), la couche VI du Qalaat, celle qui contient à sa surface les strates de cendres, serait caractérisée par des fragments de jarres en terre fortement cuite, ornées sur toute la surface de stries parallèles obtenus au moyen d'un peigne fin. Cette céramique est identique à celle de la couche correspondante de l'Ugarit Ancien III de Ras Shamra, attribuée à la période entre 2400 et 2200 environ. La même date a été proposée pour la céramique analogue du Qalaat.

Situé à 11 km. au S du Qalaat, le Tell Soukas présente plusieurs concordances avec la stratigraphie d'er-Russ et celle de Ras Shamra. Du niveau V, Dr. Forrer a retiré des fragments de ces bols à engobe noir et rouge luisant et poli appelés 'Khîrbet Kerak ware' d'après une proposition du Prof. Albright. Des fragments de cette céramique étaient inclus dans les niveaux VII et VIII du Qalaat. Partout où elle est apparue en Syrie et en Palestine, cette céramique présente une homogénéité de forme et de technique remarquable; elle a souvent été attribuée à une date antérieure à 2500 (notamment au Tell Judeideh, cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 1937, p. 10). A Ras Shamra, au contraire, elle se place dans la seconde moitié du II^e millénaire, entre 2400 et 2200 environ; elle y est en tout cas postérieure au grand incendie qui avait ravagé Ugarit à l'époque correspondant à la fin de l'ancien Empire Égyptien. Je constate

donc avec satisfaction qu'au Tell Soukas, aussi, cette céramique est attribuée entre 2400 et 2300 (A. M. Ehrich, l.c. p. 70, 87).

Les fragments de goblet uni ou orné au bord de stries parallèles alternant avec des lignes ondulées peintes ou incisées rencontrés par Dr. Forrer dans les niveaux II à IV de Soukas (l.c. p. 78, pl. XXI, fig. XX) est un type céramique originaire de l'intérieur de la Syrie. Un grand nombre de spécimens en ont été trouvés notamment à Til Barsib (Tell Ahmar), Mishrifé et d'autres sites dans la vallée de l'Oronte, Tell Judeideh et récemment à Hama (feuilles de H. Ingholt). Il est très rare sur la côte syrienne. Un seul exemplaire, apparemment tardif, a été jusqu'ici rencontré à Ras Shamra dans une tombe à ciste en pierres attribuée à l'Ugarit Moyen 2 (1900-1700). A Soukas, les exemplaires les plus récents sont datés vers 1900 environ, tandis que les plus anciens remonteraient à la fin du III^e millénaire (l.c. p. 78, 87). Il s'agit là d'un type céramique qui, ensemble avec l'apparition de certains rites funéraires dénotent l'arrivée d'un élément ethnique avançant de l'intérieur de la Syrie vers la côte à la fin du III^e millénaire.

Parmi les vases peints de Soukas plusieurs sont identiques aux cruches et bols de l'Ugarit Moyen 2 (1900-1700) trouvés à Ras Shamra (l.c. pl. XXII, XXIII, type P5). Avec raison, A. M. Ehrich refuse de descendre la date de cette céramique jusqu'à 1600 avant notre ère comme des rapprochements avec la tombe I de Mishrifé-Qatna le suggéraient. A en juger d'après la chronologie de Ras Shamra, cette tombe devrait être attribuée entre 1850 et 1750 av. notre ère.

C. F. A. SCHAEFFER

Fouilles de Sialk, II (Musée du Louvre, Série archéologique, V). Par R. GHIRSHMAN, avec des contributions de H. V. VALLOIS, R. VAUFREY, R. PFISTER, L. HAHN. 259 pages; 104 planches + 22 figures dans le texte. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1939. 250 Fr.

Situé sur la vieille route qui relie le Nord de la Perse au Golfe Persique, le tell ou tépé Sialk est proche de la ville actuelle de Kashan et constitue le centre d'une fertile oasis qui recueille l'eau des sources de la montagne voisine. Entre 1933 et 1937, trois campagnes de fouilles furent entreprises par le Musée du Louvre sous la direction de Mr. Ghirshman sur les deux collines dont se compose le site ancien. Les résultats obtenus dans les strates inférieures et préhistoriques appelées Sialk I à IV sont exposés dans le volume I publié en 1938. Le volume II, dont nous nous occupons ici, décrit les trouvailles les plus récentes de Sialk mises au jour sur la colline méridionale dans les couches V et VI et dans deux nécropoles à 250 m au S du tépé appelées nécropoles A et B, lesquelles sont contemporaines de Sialk V et VI respectivement. Pour simplifier on peut désigner les couches et les nécropoles correspondantes par les sigles V, A et VI, B.

Sialk V, A est caractérisé par une céramique faite au tour en terre fine monochrome, généralement gris-noire et par la rareté des vases peints et de la poterie commune. Les armes et outils sont toutes en bronze à l'exception d'un petit poignard à soie et d'un poinçon qui sont en fer. Les bijoux sont exceptionnellement en or et décorés de rangées de triangles en grènetis; les perles sont faites d'agate, cornaline, lapis-lazuli, pierre, bitume, bronze, coquille marine et pâte de verre. Deux tombes contenaient chacune un cylindre dont l'un, en hématite assez grossièrement gravé, figure une scène reminiscent de la glyptique du Bronze Récent en Syrie.

L'extrême rareté des objets de fer et le fait que les rapprochements que l'on peut établir à propos des types céramiques et des cylindres ne concernent que des sites où le fer est inexistant, prouvent, comme l'auteur l'a reconnu, que Sialk V, A appartient à la fin du Bronze. Cela permet de placer la date finale vers 1200 avant notre ère, l'âge du Fer débutant en Perse septentrionale et au Talyche dès la fin du XIII^e s. D'autre part, le cylindre en hématite reminiscent des cachets semblables babyloniens et syriens du Bronze Récent permet de fixer le *terminus ante quem* vers 1400. Mr. Ghirshman, après avoir d'abord attribué Sialk V, A au Bronze final, entre 1400 et 1200 (voir son rapport préliminaire dans *Syria*, 1935, p. 229), préfère dans

la publication définitive une date beaucoup plus basse: le commencement du Fer, entre 1200 et 1000 (*Sialk II*, p. 20). Pourtant cette date n'est pas seulement en contradiction avec les indices chronologiques fournis par les trouvailles de Sialk, mais aussi avec ceux que l'on peut tirer des nombreuses comparaisons avec les sites correspondants en Perse et ailleurs soigneusement établies par Mr. Ghirshman lui-même.

Ainsi les rapprochements qui s'imposent entre les vases tripodes et les jattes ornées de têtes de bélier d'une part, les vases analogues des couches III et I de Giyan-Djamshidi de l'autre, témoignent dans le sens de la date plus haute. Il en est de même des rapprochements, en vérité assez vagues, entre la céramique de Sialk V, A, celle du Talyche et celle de Gandsha-Karabagh dans la Transcaucasie orientale (cf. F. Hancar, *Eur. Sept. Ant.*, IX, p. 50 et nos *Éléments de chronologie de Ras Shamra*, en préparation). Les liens que le fouilleur est tenté d'établir entre les quelques rares spécimens de poterie peinte de Sialk V, A, et la céramique de Cappadoce (Alishar III) et de Boghaz-Keui ne sont pas non plus pour encourager la réduction proposée par lui. La meilleure comparaison qui puissent actuellement être établie à propos de la céramique gris-noire dominante à Sialk V, A est celle avec la poterie correspondante de Rayy ou Rey, de Tépé Hissar, de Chah Tépé et Tourang Tépé dans la région de la Caspienne du Sud. Ici les constatations des fouilleurs suédois et américains sont unanimes: la céramique gris-noire est caractéristique du Bronze, elle apparaît dès le III^e millénaire et fleurit au cours du II^e.

La nécropole VI, B, était en usage à l'époque où des travaux de fortification considérables avaient été entrepris à Sialk en vue d'assurer la sécurité de la ville pendant la dernière période de son existence. D'après l'étude des crânes par Mr. V. Vallois (l.c. p. 113 et suiv.), les auteurs de ces travaux appartiennent au groupe dit arménoïde, stock racial nettement différent de celui qui le précède à Sialk. Certaines correspondances que l'on peut relever entre la céramique VI, B et V, A de Sialk sont considérées par Mr. Ghirshman comme de nature accidentelle; elle me semble néanmoins indiquer un certain degré de continuité entre les deux périodes du site.

Sur plus de 200 tombes examinées par la mission de Sialk, 70 seulement étaient intactes. Les autres avaient été ouvertes par les indigènes à la recherche de la belle céramique peinte si appréciée par les antiquaires depuis la vogue des bronzes du Luristan. C'est cette céramique peinte, faite au tour, d'une pâte fine, dans laquelle les potiers ont réussi à modeler les formes métalliques les plus extravagantes jusqu'à imiter le décor en cannelures et les rivets, qui caractérise le mobilier funéraire de Sialk VI, B. Dans les tombes riches, les prototypes en bronze se trouvent à côté de leurs imitations en terre cuite. Ces récipients avec leur long bec tubulaire rappelant parfois un phallus se détachant à angle droit de la panse, ne pouvaient que difficilement être utilisés pour les besoins de la vie courante. Notons que la plupart des vases peints de Sialk VI, B figurent des étalons.

En ce qui concerne le mobilier métallique, l'armement et l'outillage sont principalement en bronze; le fer utilisé aussi pour les bracelets, torques et épingles à habits a dû être considéré comme relativement précieux. La fibule était inconnue.

Parmi la parure corporelle, il y a de nombreux cylindres en pâte vitreuse ou en pierre tendre. L'arrangement symétrique des sujets, l'attitude des capridés accroupis sont reminiscentes de la glyptique dite de Kirkouk, du Talyche et de Ras Shamra des XV^e-XIV^e s. Quant aux scarabées, l'un d'eux (l.c. p. 67, pl. XXXI) porte des hiéroglyphes qui entrent dans la composition du cartouche de Sét I (1319-1300). D'après Mr. Boreux, il serait de fabrication syrienne. On a quelque fois constaté que des scarabées de ce type ont été utilisés à une époque postérieure à celle qu'indique l'inscription. En admettant que le scarabée de Sialk VI, B ait été en usage encore un siècle après l'époque de Sét I, la tombe d'où il provient devrait être placée autour de 1200. En allant jusqu'à admettre un écart de deux siècles, la tombe serait de la fin du XII^e s. C'est cette date que Mr. Ghirshman, dans son premier rapport de fouilles, avait considéré comme le *terminus post quem* de Sialk VI, B. Dans la publication définitive il a cru devoir

la descendre au Xe s. portant ainsi à 300 ans l'écart minimum entre la date supposée de la nécropole et celle qu'indique le scarabée qu'elle a restitué. Quant à la fin de Sialk VI,B l'auteur, en dernier lieu, propose le IXe s. ou le début du VIIIe.

Cette proposition est invraisemblable; elle va à l'encontre de tous les indices fournis par les mobiliers funéraires de Sialk VI,B et aussi de ceux suggérés par les rapprochements extérieurs. Ainsi, les tombes 'du genre Luristan' de Giyan I que Mr. Ghirshman considère comme étant contemporaines de Sialk VI,B avaient été attribuées par Mr. Contenau et lui-même entre 1400 et 1100. D'après le même auteur, les trouvailles du niveau le plus récent de Tépé Hissar III,C, en dépit de certains traits communs seraient antérieures à celles de Sialk VI,B. Cette observation est en accord avec la date proposée pour Hissar par Mr. E. F. Schmidt: 2000-1500, date que MM. Contenau et Ghirshman estimaient devoir descendre jusqu'à 1300-1250. Dans le présent travail, Mr. Ghirshman ne cite plus que l'opinion de Heine-Geldern d'après laquelle la fin d'Hissar III,C serait à placer vers 1000. Fondé sur un argument qui, au contraire témoigne en faveur de la date plus haute: l'absence totale du fer à Hissar, la proposition de Heine-Geldern est inacceptable. Ainsi, le rapprochement avec Hissar III,C n'appuie pas la réduction de la date de Sialk VI,B.

Mr. Ghirshman a noté avec raison l'analogie de certains types d'armes de Sialk VI,B avec ceux du Talyche du Bronze final, notamment les poignards à manche incrusté. Les poignards de ce type de Véri peuvent maintenant être attribués au XIIIe s. Mais où il fait fausse route, de nouveau, c'est quand l'auteur déclare Sialk VI,B contemporain de l'âge du Fer au Talyche. Ni les poignards, ni les épées, ni les haches, ni la céramique des nécropoles talychiennes du Fer ne montrent la moindre parenté typologique avec les objets équivalents de Sialk VI,B. Il faut rappeler aussi que la civilisation du Fer au Talyche n'a plus connu le cylindre ce qui contribue à accuser sa différence avec celle de Sialk VI,B.

Les rapprochements avec les trouvailles de la région de Gandsha-Karabagh signalés par l'auteur ne sont pas non plus en faveur de la date basse proposée par lui, les trouvailles de la Transcaucasie en question étant attribuables entre 1350 et 1200 (voir F. Hancar, *l.c.* et nos *Elements de Chronologie*). Il est difficile de comprendre d'autre part, comment la comparaison avec les trouvailles du Bronze et du Fer du Kouban puisse justifier la thèse d'une parenté entre la civilisation de Sialk VI,B et celle du Caucase septentrional. Mr. Ghirshman ne peut citer que des rapprochements assez vagues, mais insiste lui-même sur la différence des types de l'armement, de la parure corporelle, du harnachement ou sur leur absence respectivement dans l'une ou de l'autre des deux civilisations comparées (*l.c.* p. 89 à 92). Même si le rapprochement était justifié, il ne confirmerait pas la réduction de la date de Sialk VI,B car, l'on sait, maintenant, que les civilisations illustrées par les nombreuses trouvailles koubaniennes du Bronze et du Fer ne descendent pas au-dessous de 1000 avant notre ère en chiffres ronds.

Mr. Ghirshman note que la position respective des nécropoles de Sialk V,A et VI,B, ne permet pas d'admettre qu'il y eut une interruption entre leurs périodes d'utilisation. Ensemble avec ce qui a été dit ici des indices chronologiques tirés de l'étude du mobilier et des rapprochements avec des sites voisins, cette observation permet de fixer le commencement de Sialk VI,B au cours du XIIIe s., sa fin au XIIe. Cette date s'accorde avec le fait rapporté par Mr. Ghirshman, que l'armement de cette époque conserve les formes courantes à la fin du Bronze et que le fer était encore le privilège des classes fortunées. Dans une civilisation aussi développée que celle de Sialk et dont le territoire confine aux pays producteurs très riches en fer, un pareil état de chose n'a pu exister après le XIIe s. En définitif, l'écart entre les dates soutenues ici et celles proposées par Mr. Ghirshman dans la publication définitive de Sialk s'établit comme suit:

pour Sialk V,A: 1400-1200 au lieu de 1200-1000
pour Sialk VI,B: 1250-1100 au lieu de 1000-800

Si je me suis étendu ici sur la question de la date des

niveaux V,A et VI,B de Sialk, c'est que ce site est le seul, à part Tépé Giyan, où l'on ait rencontré et exploré des couches contemporaines de certaines des nécropoles du Luristan voisines desquelles les indigènes avaient retiré les fameux bronzes. Pour le classement chronologique encore très controversé des antiquités du Luristan, les trouvailles correspondantes de Sialk offrent un appui précieux. Elles permettent de confirmer, ce que nous allons établir avec plus de détail dans un travail sur la chronologie du Luristan prêt pour aller sous presse, notamment que la grande majorité de ces bronzes actuellement attribués à l'âge du Fer et à une date postérieure au XIIe s. remontent en réalité à l'âge du Bronze et à une date antérieure au XIIe.

Pour l'étude des époques protohistoriques de la Perse et de l'Asie Antérieure en générale, le volume de Sialk avec son abondante illustration se présente ainsi comme un instrument de travail de premier ordre.

C. F. A. SCHAEFFER

Excavations in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 64). By EVERT BARGER and PHILIP WRIGHT. Pp. 67; pl. 13. Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1941. 8s. 9d.

This memoir is an account of the work carried out by a British expedition which spent the summer of 1938 in excavating a number of sites in the Swat Valley, in the extreme north of the Gandhara country, and in making an archaeological reconnaissance in the Oxus territories of Afghanistan. The material results ensuing from this work have not perhaps been conspicuous, but through the information obtained some problems of the obscure history of Greco-Buddhist art appear in a new and unexpected light.

The first chapter gives a *résumé* of our present knowledge of the archaeology of Gandhara and Central Asia, and clearly defines the tasks which the expedition set itself. To this day, scarcely any Gandharan site which was found unspoiled has been scientifically excavated; dated inscriptions are few, and the eras to which they refer mostly unknown; for political reasons it has all too often been impossible to attempt exploration and preservation of the monuments still extant. The aim of the present expedition was to collect archaeological evidence, and to produce the beginnings of a trustworthy chronology of Gandhara sculpture.

The main camp was set up at Barikot, in lower Swat; all the ancient remains of the district were surveyed, and excavations conducted at several sites. Furthermore, trial excavations were undertaken in various parts of a mound at Charbagh, some twenty miles up the valley, under conditions of considerable hardship. The scarcity of the sculptural remains unearthed, and their damaged condition, have led the excavators to conclude that the extent of wilful destruction at the hands of the White Huns in the fifth century A.D. has been over-estimated. Damage from natural causes, gradual decay, and perhaps a 'retreat' of the treasures of unprotected mountain settlements into the monasteries of the plain—both because of the gradual decline of Buddhism, and for reasons of general security—equally account for their present condition. It would appear, therefore, that the sculptures which have come to light in such huge quantities in 'repositories' in the larger sites in the plains, were not strictly speaking found *in situ*.

No excavations could be carried out in Afghanistan, but a number of important archaeological sites north of the Hindukush was established for the first time. The survey of this most difficult country, part of which had never before been visited by any archaeologist, has determined several sites of perished Greco-Bactrian cities where future excavations may most profitably be undertaken.

Though the immediate results are not of the first importance, the knowledge gained by the members of the expedition and laid down in this memoir is an important step towards a solution on a truly scientific basis of the many problems set by the archaeology of the region. It is to be hoped that a way has now been paved for future research on similar lines.

H. BUCHTHAL

The Buildings at Samaria (Samaria-Sebaste I).

By J. W. CROWFOOT, KATHLEEN M. KENYON and E. L. SUKENIK. Pp. xvi + 139; pl. 89 + 55 text figs. London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1942. 40s. (subscribers 21s.).

The earlier remains at Samaria have little bearing on Hellenic studies; the proto-Ionic pilaster capitals are already well known, and the only other discovery worth mentioning here is a somewhat hypothetical ramp entrance which the excavators compare with the Lion Gate of Mycenae. The oldest pieces of classical building are three cylindrical towers of about 300 B.C., projecting from an eighth-century wall which seems to have still enclosed the summit and the next terrace of the hill. This acropolis was re-fortified shortly before 100 B.C., no doubt because of the Maccabean troubles. At first the new fort abutted at its corners against the inner segments of two of the round towers, but these were soon removed and a rectangular salient took the place of one at least. The authors do not attempt to explain this substitution of an apparently inferior means of defence, but it may be suggested that the towers were demolished after the siege of c. 110 at the same time as a breach was deliberately made in the wall of the fort, and that its corners were closed up again when that gap was mended—probably c. 50 B.C. by order of Gabinius.

Samaria was much enlarged when Herod refounded it as Sebaste, c. 25 B.C. His great temple, presumably dedicated to Augustus (and as usual to Roma) is a useful prototype for Baalbek. It is raised upon an artificial platform, most of the space being occupied by a forecourt, at the back of which was a flight of steps leading to the temple proper, which stood on a high podium. It seems to have had a deep prostyle porch and side colonnades. Herod may also have been responsible for an early alteration, the construction of basement corridors along the edge of the great platform; apparently they had a flat ceiling resting on a double row of slender arches. The other Herodian remains described are the town wall, a set of painted cross-steps from a parapet, and the painted walls of the stadium, which originally had a Doric colonnade round the interior.

Most of the ruins of Sebaste can now be dated between about 180 and 230 A.D. They include the previously excavated west gate, the forum colonnades and adjoining basilica, the Corinthian order in the stadium, the temple of Kore, the theatre (with a stage-front which has African analogies), two small shrines, some extremely handsome tombs, and extensive alterations to the Augusteum (including a renewal of the porch, *in antis*, and the vaulting of the basement corridors with a single span). Domestic remains are insignificant, but the tombs clearly resemble houses, having atrium courts off which lie large vaulted rooms, lined with niches for sarcophagi. The aqueduct system, which is probably of the same period, deserves and receives detailed study.

The Christian ruins are summarily treated: they comprise two shrines of John the Baptist and a possible conversion of the basilica into an apsidal cathedral with north orientation.

The report discusses some of the buildings published by the Harvard excavators, supplementing and correcting their material without superseding it. In the main, however, it is devoted to the finds made by the Joint Expedition of 1931-33 and in the 1935 season which was financed by the British Academy and a group of subscribers associated with the firm of Marks and Spencer—an encouraging portent. The excavations were obviously most carefully and intelligently conducted. The book gives a conscientious, well-reasoned and clear account of the site, with an adequate, though not lavish, allowance of illustrations. The production retains the best of peacetime standards, except for a slight increase in minor printer's errors, and the price would have seemed very reasonable before the war.

A. W. LAWRENCE

The Mosaics of Antioch. By C. R. MOREY. Pp. vi + 48; pl. 24. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938. \$4.00.

The American Expedition to Antioch found about 300 pieces of mosaic pavement worth lifting and preserving;

several were transported to America, some to the Louvre, the majority are still in Syria; the material is impressive in quantity and popular in appeal. A large number of floors were published with collotype reproductions in *Antioch on the Orontes II*; they were arranged in order of finding, season by season, and a long catalogue gave the colours of the tesserae, sketch-plans of some of the floors and notes of datable objects such as coins or lamps found under them. A critical review of the quality and significance of the new material is badly wanted. Professor Morey's book, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, is a brief introduction to the subject from one aspect. The first half is taken up with an essay on the city of Antioch as a cultural and artistic centre, the second with a study of the development of figural painting at Antioch as illustrated by the new finds. Both essays are full of interest. The mosaics range in date from about A.D. 100 to about A.D. 500, and Morey comes to the conclusion that they show a gradual Orientalisation of art during this period, Hellenistic Syria slipping into the embrace of the East.

The mosaics now republished, about a score in number, may have been chosen with an eye to this theory, but they include most of the finest specimens from Antioch and Daphne. The illustrations are livelier than those in the previous publication, the descriptions full and sympathetic, but we should have been glad of a few references.

The series starts with a number of second- and third-century mosaics which are Hellenistic in subject, feeling and execution: the picture of the Judgement of Paris in a more or less natural landscape setting (i) is plainly copied from a famous painting; so presumably is a superbly modelled figure of Neptune or Oceanus on a background of blue and green glass tesserae now sadly decomposed (iv), and a symposium in which figures labelled Agros and Opora are served by Oinos (ix); a pedlar catching cupids which symbolise wayward affections (vii) recalls a Pompeian wall painting; the picture of a love-sick youth in bed gazing at a portrait of his beloved belongs to another genre, but to the same period (xii). Morey's analysis of these early floors is excellent, but rows of finished pictures of this type, executed with extreme virtuosity and representing original paintings as faithfully perhaps as the chromolithographs of the last century, do not recur on later pavements. Pictorial elements persist, but they are treated differently, the drawing is simplified and the figures arranged according to new formulas. These changes we find it hard to consider signs of decadence or primitivism. The reproduction on such a scale of elaborate pictures on floors was a comparatively late development in the Hellenistic world and, however interesting the pictures may be to students of ancient painting, something of an aberration; it was absurd to lay in a row on the floor pictures painted to decorate a wall; from most parts of the room the pictures could only be seen sideways or upside down, and indications of a third dimension on a floor are positively disagreeable to many eyes; the better the representation, the more out of place it was on a pavement. Consequently the shift to a two-dimensional style, to rhythmic composition and to carpet motifs which Morey regards as symptoms of Oriental atavism were really progressive steps towards a more appropriate floor-covering. Various experiments were made. One experiment is to be seen in an opulent and somewhat overloaded floor (xvi, xvii, and *Antioch II*, 65) which Morey describes as 'perhaps the finest decorative work' surviving from Constantine's age: an octagonal fountain stood in the middle, there were large figures of the four seasons on the diagonals, with hunting scenes in the trapezoids between them, all facing away from the fountain, and round the whole ran an outer border of panels with various subjects facing towards it. The same formula—the replacement of a single composition by four loosely related themes, one facing each side of the panel—is exemplified on a great hunting floor (xx) which is divided saltire-wise by trees growing from the four corners. Another solution of the problem consisted of varied enrichments set in an all-over pattern which covered the whole of the main field. Three good examples are published by Morey: in one (xviii) the all-over pattern is a geometrical design, and a bust labelled Ktisis is placed in the centre; the second (xxi, xxii) has a trellis woven

of chains of little flowers and, except in the middle, where there is a noble lion, the meshes are filled with birds and other objects; on the third (xxiv), now in the Louvre, the tesserae are laid scale-wise over the field, with little flowers on the hinges of the scales, and the pattern is broken in the middle by the figure of a nimbed Phoenix standing on a mountain, the flowers appearing through the rays of the nimbus being lightened in tone.

Only one of Morey's interpretations seems to be at fault: the subject (xxiii) is a lion looking meditatively at a humped bull or buffalo with a tree behind and a stele inscribed Philia, one of several pairs of animals; Morey suggests that Philia refers 'perhaps to the fighting qualities of the Asiatic buffalo, the lion's prey,' but a much-mutilated replica of the pavement has been found in a church at Ma'in in Transjordan with remains of a passage from Isaiah xi. 7 which shows that the mosaicist was depicting the Messianic Golden Age when the lion shall eat straw like the ox and the leopard lie down with the kid.

The floor from which this scene comes is probably the latest and the weakest in the book; the other late floors we have cited may stand in the phrase which Morey uses of the Ktisis, as 'a permanent rebuke to current notions of the decadence of art in the last centuries of the Empire.' Do they really show any signs of progressive Orientalisation? Changes in manner between the second century and the fifth and reasons for them have been already mentioned; much of the subject-matter remained the same—personifications of the seasons, months and other notions, few of which would have been intelligible without a rubric, and nature-studies of animals, birds and fishes. The second-century Neptune mosaic contained pictures of fishes so carefully rendered that nearly forty distinct species of Mediterranean fish have been identified; a collection of birds is the subject of a third-century panel (viii). In the Neptune house there are reclining figures labelled Bios and Truphe (vi); they are precursors of the later busts of Ktisis or Ananeosis or Dunamis. At all times things in Syria have been very much mixed, but Morey's conclusions stand in sharp contrast with those reached by other critics of the much greater mosaics made much later by Syrian craftsmen for the Umayyad mosques in Jerusalem and Damascus; after a patient analysis of the various influences at work in Jerusalem, Miss Marguerite van Berchem finds Greco-Roman traditions dominating the Oriental, and adds a reservation that 'those types which are called Sasanian belong perhaps just as much to Syrian art' (Creswell's *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, pp. 227, 228). At Antioch during the period we have been discussing Greco-Roman traditions seem to us dominant from first to last.

J. W. CROWFOOT

A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shan (Publications of the Palestine Section of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. IV). By G. M. FITZGERALD. Pp. 19; pl. 22. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939.

This is an account of a small religious house founded in the latter half of the sixth century, and used as a burial-place by the founder's family. It stood on high ground north of the great tell at Beisan, two walls of it abutting on the city wall. It was cleared in 1930 by the Pennsylvania University Museum Expedition, and this account has been written by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, who was then Director of the Expedition.

Very little of the walls remained standing, but the mosaic floors were in exceptionally good condition, and practically the whole of the ground plan was recovered. The chapel was in the north-east, approached through a wide porch or narthex from a central hall or court off which other rooms opened. Eleven of the rooms had mosaic pavements, and the inscriptions they contain tell us all we know about the complex; two have dates which are almost certainly to be equated with the years 567 and 568-9 or 553-4. Coins of Heraclius, which were the latest found on the site, suggest that the house had a short life, which may explain the good state of the floors.

The mosaics date from a period when representations of birds and beasts, personifications of the months and seasons, vignettes of huntsmen and vintagers—the subjects which

occur so often on the earlier floors at Antioch—were becoming increasingly common in ecclesiastical buildings in Palestine and Transjordan, and three of the pavements have figures of this type. The central court had an all-over geometrical pattern of octagons, squares and rhombs filled with animals, birds, flowers, fruits and so forth, and in the middle a circular panel with the sun and moon and, radiating round them, full-length figures of the months, which may be contrasted with similar figures on a second-century floor at Antioch (*Antioch on the Orontes*, II, p. 191, pl. 52). At Antioch the months are gracious figures standing firmly on real ground, across which shadows fall, the inscriptions with their names are written in a band above them: the Beisan months are sketchily drawn, floating as it were on a plain background, and the names, now Latinised, are scattered about anyhow under or between the feet of the figures. A small religious house could not command craftsmen of the same calibre as the owner of a rich villa, but the tradition is the same. North of the court was a small room, perhaps a parlour, with a more attractive floor: the all-over pattern is a rather skimpy version of the popular vine trellis, with lively hunting and vintage scenes in the medallions and various birds and beasts in the interstices; one medallion has a negro in a gaudy skirt leading a giraffe, which is a new subject to the writer. The nave of the chapel was less happy; it was covered with a monotonous design of linked medallions, eighty-two in all, each containing a bird. A fourth floor in a room south of the chapel consists of three strips with wholly different all-over patterns enclosed by a single border; it has the same effect as three rugs laid side by side, an effect pleasanter, perhaps, than a floor covered entirely by any one of the three alone would have. All these mosaics must be judged as floor-coverings, not as works of fine art.

The mosaics have been admirably reproduced in what looks to us now in war-time a most lavish style, and Mr. FitzGerald's accounts of both mosaics and inscriptions are models of what such things should be.

J. W. CROWFOOT

Hagia Sophia. By E. H. SWIFT. Pp. xvii + 209; pl. 46 + 34 text figs. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1941. 66s. 6d.

Though published in 1940 in America, this book has only reached the reviewer's hands recently. A complete work on Santa Sophia is certainly an event, though the great church has been studied and recorded to an extent not often realised. As the only perfect domed basilica, whose designers ultimately succeeded in solving a structural problem that was outstanding for its time, not attempted again on a similar scale for another ten centuries, and who obtained a complete mastery of spatial effect combined with splendour and beautiful lighting that is unique in the annals of architecture, the building has exercised an irresistible fascination, in spite of, and perhaps even because of, its comparative inaccessibility in modern times. Yet there are few books that deal with it in all its aspects: Lethaby and Swainson's was the first; Antoniades' (1931), the second; the book under review, which is dedicated to the late Howard Crosby Butler, is the third, and from its date, it might be imagined as the final one. Through circumstances for which the author was not responsible, it can hardly be called that, but it can fairly be said that it has justified the very considerable amount of research that it discloses.

Structurally, Santa Sophia has been well studied. In 1852 and 1854 came Fossati's repairs and Salzenberg's great monograph, giving the first reliable data for all subsequent investigation. In 1883 came Choisy's penetrating analysis, accompanied by his wonderful diagrammatic drawings, in *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*; then Lethaby and Swainson's work, in 1894; a little earlier, a good study of the dome (not mentioned by Professor Swift) by the late Percy S. Worthington.¹ The problem of the first dome, the true form of which had been per-

¹ 'Five Famous Domes; their History and Construction' (R.I.B.A. Transactions, New Series, V, 1889, pp. 165 ff.).

ceived by Lethaby, received attention from Millet in 1923, Traquair in 1927 and Conant in 1939. Professor Swift had the advantage of being able to incorporate all the relevant facts of the last-mentioned investigation, with drawings. Up to the end of last century (as Choisy's latest conclusions were in his *Histoire de l'architecture*, 1899), an overhaul of Salzenberg's geometrical drawings was wanted; this was supplied in great part by the late James B. Fulton, and well-published as four single plates and one double plate in the *Architectural Association Sketch Book* (London) for 1910.² Professor Swift's good sections on Pls. V and VI are unscientifically presented; each pair could easily have been combined as one unit, which would have made them more intelligible, and (for a building so important as Santa Sophia) an additional plate might have been made, to the same scale as Pl. III, by using part of the material of Pl. V for a complete longitudinal section through the south aisles looking north, with the elevation of the main building in relation, as was done by Fulton; while Pl. IV could, with advantage, have been reduced to this scale. Attention to these matters would have made the geometrical drawings of the building reasonably thorough.

Following sections on the History and Description of the Church, the remaining ones deal with Principles of Design, the Church in Detail (considerably the longest, divided into Ground level, Triforium, and Superstructure), and the Exterior. The first-mentioned is mainly a thorough explanation of the theories of Andreades (1931), Sedlmayr (1935) and Zaloziecky (1936). The historical conclusions of these authors, particularly Zaloziecky, are sound in the emphasis on late Hellenistic and Roman prototypes for the basic principles of the design, but the 'illusionism' of their aesthetic theories is apt to lose touch with reality, as Professor Swift himself apprehends in Sedlmayr. Though the designers of Santa Sophia may have fused the elements of a Hellenistic pillared court and a Roman basilican hall, and though the vistas obtained thereby are extremely varied and interesting—as can be seen from Fossati's drawings—these were, as in all great buildings of the past, the result of a resolution of structural fact by the designer. 'Groups of columns [in the aisles] apparently at random' (Andreades) is absurd: a glance at the plan will show that no more orderly arrangement could be made. To say (p. 38) 'The doors to the aisles are obviously so placed as to afford the most picturesque, restless (*sic*) and fragmentary views, and even more extreme in this respect are the adjacent doors which open just behind the exedrae' (Zaloziecky) is to ignore what any practical examination of the placing of these doors will disclose. Professor Swift does not question Sedlmayr's statement that the proportions of classical buildings were commensurable: it is clear that they were not so, and all attempts to square Vitruvius' theories with the facts have proved fruitless.

The book might be regarded as the most authoritative work on the subject as a whole, to date, though any full treatment of the mosaics could not be included, and we must share the author's regret that the latest investigations of these were not available. He does full justice to what other writers—particularly the most recent ones—have said on various aspects of Santa Sophia, and has supplemented this by personal observation 'during the course of an extended visit to Constantinople not many years before the mosque was secularized [1935] . . . specifically for the purpose of studying, measuring and photographing the Church, and to this end more than a month of intensive activity was devoted on the spot.' He was convinced that the lowest brick courses of the dome 'were laid radially and in such a way as to have required a wooden centering'; which is important, as it has been believed, hitherto, that in at least the lower part of the dome, the bricks were

laid more flat. He might have given more information about the nature and extent of the remainder of his own practical study than can be gathered from the Preface, and the absence of reference to the exact source of each drawing and photograph is a serious defect. The photographic Plates VII to XVI and XX to XLVI are excellent, particularly those of the exterior and the details of the interior. General photographs of the interior have always been a problem—though Professor Swift's Pl. XLVI is very good—and Sebah and Joaillier's fine series had the great handicap of the Turkish distortions and accessories; but Fossati's coloured plates still give the best impression of the interior in all general aspects. The figures in the text, especially under 'Structure and Decoration,' are good, usefully supplementary to those in Lethaby and Swainson (to which important book there should have been more than footnote references) and to Fulton's detail drawings.

A few minor matters should be mentioned. On p. 158, the word 'oblate' is hardly an accepted architectural term. On p. 161, the explanation of the 'Erratum' is unscientific, especially in reference to the plan, where the lines referred to are obviously much more than 'approximately' out of straight. There is no explanation of the three small circles (one near the north point) on the Ground Plan, Pl. I. On the Gallery Plan (Pl. II), the presence of both straight and curved dotted lines to mark the closure of the semi-domes of the exedrae and of the eastern and western barrel-vaulted terminations—a constantly-recurring problem in plans of Santa Sophia—might have been explained, and these lines, together with the dotted lines showing the great arches and the dome, should have been omitted on the Ground Plan. The term 'Triforium,' consistently used for the Gynaeceum Gallery, is inaccurate. On p. 7, 'Mulvian' should be 'Milvian,' and in the title of Pl. XXXV A, 'Sanctuary' should be 'Sanctuary.'

The Bibliography, apart from exceptions noted above, is exhaustive, but it would be more useful if the works dealing expressly with Santa Sophia had been listed separately. In the Index, the reference to S. Sophia at Salonika on p. 200 is not mentioned; there may be other cases of the kind and fuller cross-referencing, e.g., the separate Ravenna churches under the heading 'Ravenna,' would be an advantage. As might be expected from its publishing source, the book is very well produced.

T. F.

Le Quartier des Manganas et la première Région de Constantinople (Recherches françaises en Turquie, II). By R. DEMANGEL and E. MAMBOURY. Pp. 172; pl. 11 + 212 text figs. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1939.

This volume presents us with the final publication of a series of excavations carried out in the years 1921, 1922 and 1923, with the assistance of the French troops of occupation, and finished off in 1933 by means of a few additional trenches.

The first chapter is devoted to a survey of the work undertaken; the second contains an historical study of the Arsenal; the third is devoted to the most important complex of buildings of the area, the Monastery of the Mangana, with its church of St. George, constructed in the reign of Constantine Monomachos (1042-54). The church had an important role to play in the history of Byzantium, and boasted a rich treasury. It was, however, pillaged and destroyed at the time of the Turkish conquest, and to-day only the very considerable brick substructures remain.

The same fate overtook the neighbouring Church of the Saviour and the other buildings in the area which are identified by the authors in the chapters that follow. The first they discuss is the Palace of the Mangana (Ch. IV), constructed by Basil I (867-886) and demolished at the end of the twelfth century. It was an unusual building, with five stories, and it is especially sad that nothing remains above ground. Chapter V is devoted to the Monastery and Sacred Spring of the Saviour, the site of which the authors believe to be that of a Turkish kiosk illustrated by nineteenth-century travellers, but itself destroyed when the railway was built. In Chapter VI the

² No mention is made of Fulton's work, which included an excellent detailed section through the aisles, looking outwards and showing marble linings, etc. His plans, and his sections up to the springing of the great arches, are well-dimensioned. His asymmetry in the eastern terminations of the north and south aisles at Gallery level may be accurate recording of the deflection of the building (see Pl. XLV A in the present book).

sea-wall, dating in the main from the time of Theophilus, is examined, as well as a cistern called that of the Powder Factory. Most interesting, however, is a curious hexagonal building with a marble basin at the centre, the form of which suggests that it was originally a Baptistery. The authors believe that it was associated with a sacred spring and dedicated to the Virgin Hodegetria. Several such springs existed in Byzantium, and one of them was known to be in this area; their identification of the building is thus probable.

The finds are discussed in two appendices. The first of these contains a descriptive catalogue of the more important objects, sculpture, pottery and inscriptions; the second is devoted to a single piece of sculpture, the Mangana Virgin. Most of the sculpture discussed is architectural, but there are a few interesting fragments of reliefs bearing religious subjects. The glazed pottery is all of types well known in mid and later Byzantine times. In addition a large number of coarse earthenware jars are published, which were mostly designed to be used in the construction of domes and vaults, to give lightness and strength to the structure. Most bore factory marks in the form of graffiti.

The Mangana Virgin, published in greater detail in the second appendix, is one of the finest pieces of mid Byzantine sculpture that have come down to us. Similar, but less fine, sculptures of the same subject at Venice, Athens and in the Ottoman Museum, are reproduced for comparison; they furnish interesting iconographical parallels, but artistically, even the finest of them, that at Venice, serves primarily to stress the superb quality of the Mangana relief. This publication is not exhaustive, and a great deal more remains to be said not only on the sculpture of this period, but also on reliefs of the same subject, the Virgin Orans.

The volume is well printed and the plans and main plates are excellent. The half-tone plates, on the other hand, often leave much to be desired, and some of the originals from which they were made had been marred by titles written over vital portions of the photographs. But apart from these small defects, the volume is a most welcome addition to our scanty material on the monuments and topography of Byzantium, and the authors are to be congratulated on and thanked for its production.

D. T. R.

Byzantine Art in Roumania. By M. BEZA. Pp. xxi + 8; pl. 22 in colour, 48 in half-tone. London: Batsford, 1940. 21s.

The title of this book is in a sense a misnomer, since practically all the works reproduced are of the post-Byzantine rather than the Byzantine period; that is to say, they are to be dated subsequent to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Yet of all the heritors of Byzantium, Roumania was second only to Russia in the quality and quantity of the works of art she produced, and much of the material illustrated in this book is worthy to be termed Byzantine as far as quality is concerned. The book should thus be of interest not only to the specialist, but also to the student of art in general.

In the short text the author draws attention to the links binding Wallachia and Moldavia to the Byzantine area, both in Byzantine and in post-Byzantine times. He then illustrates a selection of objects of Roumanian workmanship, produced from the early sixteenth century onwards. Like the name of the country to which they belong, they show a western element in their composition, but the Byzantine strain is dominant. The two elements are blended in a distinctive manner to form an art which is clearly Roumanian, and there is something in all this material which at once distinguishes it from contemporary work produced in Russia, Greece or the other Balkan countries.

One of the finest of the objects illustrated is perhaps the silver casket in the form of a five-domed church decorated with enamels, in the Monastery of Dionysiu on Mount Athos; it is actually an artophorion or repository for the sacred bread. Fine again are some of the embroideries of the early seventeenth century. But the most delicate and subtle work is perhaps to be seen in the illuminations, more especially Prince Tchiobanu's Gospel at Dionysiu or Prince Jeremia Movila's Gospel in the Sinai Monastery,

dated 1598. So far as it is possible to form a conclusion from a few—though very excellent—reproductions in colour, a predilection for green seems to be a characteristic feature of all the Roumanian illuminations, whether they are religious scenes or decorative schemes. So lavish a use of green is absent in contemporary Greek or Russian painting. At an earlier date, however, it appears to have been a distinctive feature of East Anatolian and Caucasian painting. Strzygowski has suggested that a relationship existed between the Caucasus and Roumania on the grounds of architectural similarities and because of the popularity of exterior decoration in both areas. The predilection for green may prove to be another factor illustrating this cultural link.

Such intriguing problems are not, however, dealt with in the text of the book under review. This tells us but little. The excellent plates offer an inspiring incentive to further research.

D. T. R.

The Elizabeth Day McCormick Apocalypse. Vol. I, A Greek Corpus of Revelation Iconography. Vol. II, History and Text. By H. R. WILLOUGHBY and E. C. COLWELL. Pp. xxxviii + 602 and x + 171; pl. 73 in Vol. I, 6 in Vol. II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, London: Cambridge University Press, 1940. £7 10s.

This is the publication of a paper MS. in vernacular Greek, c. 1650 of the Apocalypse by Maximus the Peloponnesian bought by Miss Elizabeth Day McCormick in the Rue Saint Sulpice in Paris in March 1932 and edited in 1940, the first volume by Harold R. Willoughby and the second by Ernest Cadman Colwell.

In the first volume the MS. is analysed in every technical detail, and in the second is the history of the MS. followed by the Greek text.

This elaborate publication is the result of expensive, far-reaching and painstaking research, which enables the authors to compare their MS. closely to some in the libraries of Mount Athos and in other libraries of Greece and the Near East, all of which they must presumably have visited for the collection and collation of their data. Considerable scholarship is displayed in the description of the MS., especially in the comparative study with other contemporary ones.

The MS. is claimed to be unique, on the grounds that 'it is the only Greek MS. of the Apocalypse known to scholarship to-day that is illuminated with text tableaux. Such is its prime distinction' (Vol. I, p. 3), and that it has 'no parallel in any media—Eastern or Western' (Vol. I, p. 6). Owing to their date the illuminations presumably cannot be considered as Byzantine but may be termed 'Byzantineque.'

A controversy is opened, the ultimate aim of which is not clear. It is to prove that Maximus of Gallipoli, the translator of the New Testament into vernacular Greek published in Geneva in 1638 under the auspices of Calvinists, was the same person as Maximus the Peloponnesian, to whom the McCormick MS. is ascribed. Maximus of Gallipoli is stated to be 'a pupil of Cyril Lucar's' (Vol. II, p. 36), whereas Andronikos K. Demetrapoulos in his work 'Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς' informs us on page 146 of his work that Maximus the Peloponnesian was 'a pupil and the archdeacon of the Patriarch of Alexandria Meletios Pegas, in 1602 he took Holy Orders, his *floruit* was the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, in 1620 he was in Jerusalem and he wrote the 'Εγχαρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ σχήματος τῶν Παρισίων... a work written in vernacular Greek and published by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in Bucharest in 1690.'

Every ornament of the binding, however small, is closely examined with the same precision that characterises the whole work, and, being ambitious for detail, the authors reach exact conclusions. The chief data on which these repose are the similarity of the tooling with that on some covers in the Benaki Museum, also ascribed to the eighteenth century 'the general period of Parthenios the Metropolitan of Larissa' (Vol. II, p. 135), and with that on an *Epitaphion* of the same period in the Gennadeion. It is, therefore, 'confidently guessed that the two [later] bindings were

produced at the same time and in the same atelier' (Vol. II, p. 135). To this is added similarity of binding and of tooling to that found on the covers of a *Proskuniarion* of a century later, also in the Gennadeion, belonging to the period when the Metropolitan of Larissa acquired the McCormick MS. for his library, and in which luckily the nineteenth-century binder's name and particulars are recorded in a note as being Joseph of Douskos in Thessaly and the date of the binding 1825 (Vol. II, p. 136). There is thus considered to a 'consensus of indicia' that the McCormick covers were 'created at the order of Parthenios of Larissa when he added the codex to his library early in the eighteenth century and that they [the tooling stamps] were designed and finished at the monastery of Douskos near by in the Peneios valley' (Vol. II, p. 135). Monastic bindings are usually accepted as being very conventional, as were most crafts practised by members of the Church. This consideration should greatly add to the difficulties of exact dating.

P. P. A.

Eight American Praxapostoloi. By K. W. CLARK. Pp. 204; pl. 8. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. London: Cambridge University Press, 1941. 12s.

Of the three main types of text in the Acts and the Pauline Epistles, the Alexandrian type, the Western and the Byzantine, the Western in Acts is poorly represented by Greek authorities. These consists of two papyri, of codices Bezae and Laudianus, and, in a modified form, of some groups of minuscules. Where codex Bezae is deficient, these last often provide the only evidence for the Western text in Greek. In the Pauline Epistles where the uncial representation of the Greek Western text is fuller, the importance of the minuscules is not so great, but here also they are frequently significant. Of the eight Praxapostoloi, all of them cursives, collated in Dr. Clark's work, four belong to the Western type of minuscule text, viz. 2412, 2401, 1799, 876, and of these 2412 seems to be the most important not only of the four, but of all cursives of this type, superior even to 614. These four collations, together with materials in A. V. Valentine Richard's book *The Text of Acts in Codex 614 and its Allies*, give us an adequate picture of the minuscules of the Western text. The other four manuscripts 223, 1022, 1960, 2423 represent, more or less closely, the textual type current in Byzantine use. Without access to the manuscripts it is impossible to check the accuracy of the collations, but a reading of the introductions and of selected passages suggests that the standard must be high. While Mr. Clark and his fellow-collators are to be congratulated on such a book, it is lamentable that in recent years little has been done in Great Britain in collating and publishing manuscripts available here despite the impetus that the preparation of the Oxford 'Novum Testamentum Graece' under the editorship of the Rev. S. C. E. Legg ought to have given such valuable work. The torch of Tischendorf, Scrivener and their contemporaries, seems to have passed to the United States.

G. D. KILPATRICK

Dionysius Solomós. By ROMILLY JENKINS. Pp. x + 225; pl. 2. Cambridge: University Press, 1940. 8s. 6d.

This brightly written and very readable study of Dionysius Solomós contains many features of interest—historical, linguistic, biographical and critical. The greater part of Solomós' life was passed in the lovely islands of Zante and Corfu, mainly under the English 'Protectorate.' Until 1828 (apart from ten years in Italy) the poet was in his native Zante and conceived a strong anti-English bias. It is true that the 'Constitution,' under which the Heptanese was governed, was a farce, but the actual rule—even under Maitland—was not too oppressive, and the nobility were in a position to enjoy their wealth and privileges inherited from the Venetian period. But Solomós, partly from domestic, partly from political causes, became desperately unhappy in Zante, and transferred himself to Corfu with remarkable results. He was welcomed there into the brilliant society of the governing class and the intellectual circle of Guilford's Ionian Academy, and became as pro- as he had before been anti-English. All this is set forth by Mr. Jenkins in lively fashion.

The Modern Greek linguistic question is of peculiar importance in any study of Solomós. Whereas the Byzantine 'purist' tradition clung fast to Athens and to Greece proper, the 'popular' language was kept alive in outlying Greek-speaking parts. Such names as Athanasios Christopoulou and John Vilará are to be remembered with honour in connexion with the movement to make the popular language a fit vehicle for serious literature. It was reserved for Solomós, under the impulse of Trikoupi, to show that the popular language was fully able to provide the vocabulary necessary for poetry of the highest order. This study traces the steps by which this difficult task was achieved.

The life-career of Solomós is of the greatest interest. Illegitimate son of a father who could trace his nobility through several centuries, he had a mother sprung from the common people—one who certainly spoke the Greek vernacular. His mother's standing is of importance, for it goes far to explain how Solomós, who was educated in Italy from the age of ten to twenty and used Italian as the language of his earliest compositions, was able to obtain such a mastery over the popular Greek language. The *Dialogue* sets forth his views on the use of the living language with no uncertain sound. The character of Solomós—poetry apart—is an interesting psychological study. He was a compound of contradictions. Affable, yet proud and quarrelsome; generous, yet hard in business; tenderest of poets, yet bitterest of satirists; a prey to intemperance, yet capable of the most exacting effort to create the language he desired. His nervous irritability at times bordered on insanity, and the prolonged family law-suit wrought untold harm on such a temperament.

But Solomós' life, though related by Mr. Jenkins in a highly interesting manner, is but the background to an excellent critical study of his poetry. The poet's fame was made by his *Hymn to Liberty* composed about 1822. Though, as this study shows, the *Hymn* by no means reaches the high-water-mark of Solomós' poetry, it is probable that it will always rank in the popular mind as his greatest poem. Stanzas from it have been adopted as the Greek National Anthem. It appeared just at the right moment, when Greece was at the beginning of her struggle for independence, and was couched in language well calculated to appeal to a world inflamed with Byronic enthusiasm for that cause. But Solomós' highest poetry was produced after his migration to the more congenial atmosphere of Corfu in 1828. In his epigrams and lyric tenderness he reminds us of Simonides. In the longer pieces, such as the *Lambros*, the *Cretan* and the *Free Besieged*, there are passages of unsurpassed lyrical beauty descriptive of Greek nature and atmosphere. Yet with all this, Solomós must rank as a disappointing poet. The promise is not fulfilled and the great creative work which he longed for was never produced. *Forsitan in magnis et voluisse sat est* is the feeling with which we are left. There is no lack of study and striving. Greek folk-poetry and Cretan literature are ransacked for a fitting vocabulary, and in the purely linguistic sphere Solomós' services to Modern Greek literature are immense. The causes of the poet's failure to produce a great creative work and his legacy of fragments are judiciously examined in this study. Part may be due to instability and intemperance, but German poetic theories—and in particular those of Schiller—seem to have been mainly responsible. The three sketches of the *Free Besieged* are significant. The poet became obsessed with the idea that it was his duty to raise the heroism of the defenders of Missolonghi from the particular to the ideal and that every word used must be exactly fitting. Hence a mass of corrections, but a loss of spontaneity.

Mr. Jenkins in the body of his work gives verse-translations of select passages of the poetry, and the original Greek is printed in an appendix. He seems to depreciate these translations excessively. It is true that they are free, but on the whole they are very well done. The version of No. 33, describing the entrancing scenery of Crete, may be singled out for special commendation.

The study is one that should be consulted by all those who wish to understand the greatest lyrical poet of Modern Greece.

F. H. MARSHALL

Πρόσφυγες και Προσφυγικόν Ζήτημα κατά την 'Επανάστασιν τοῦ 1821. By APOSTOLOS BAKALOPOULOS. Pp. xii + 186. Thessalonika: 1939.

This study of refugee problems during the Greek War of Independence is divided into two parts, the first covering the period from 1821 to the arrival in Greece of Capodistria, and the second that of the rule of Capodistria to the arrival of King Otho, followed by an appendix dealing with the question under the first King of the Hellenes. At the beginning of the work is an imposing list of the printed books consulted by the author, and at the end is an index, whose shortcoming is the lack of general subject-matter entries.

The merit of the work lies in the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, it constitutes the first attempt to study in detail the fluctuations of Greek populations during the epic struggle, and thus it may be considered to be a useful contribution elucidating the origins of the *διασπορά*. Good use is made of the early issues of the *Official Gazette*, and this alone must have entailed long and painstaking research.

It is, however, a little disappointing that, whereas the opening lines of the preface tell us that the refugee problem created after the Asia Minor campaign in 1922 prompted the author to study its counterpart during the War of Independence, and thus make us anticipate comparative tables of statistics and analyses, none such are forthcoming.

With great labour the author has collected a deal of valuable material, which is sub-divided geographically into sections according to the homelands of the emigrants, and at the end of 156 pages of such classification he devotes only four pages to general remarks and deductions. Here and there undue prominence is given to local jealousies, which tends to obscure objectiveness.

The composition of some sentences is unexpected; for instance, on page 73 we read: 'However, their few dwelling-houses and business premises situated on the sea shore, as also the other Roman Catholic inhabitants of the island, ran serious risk a few months after the outbreak of the revolution.' The meaning of other phrases is not always clear; for example, on page 77: 'In an assembly of the inhabitants, which took place in 1825 in the courtyard of the church of the Transfiguration, the name of Hermoupolis was given to what had hitherto been an anonymous town, Hermoupolis is usually called even to this day by the inhabitants of the Upper Town *Gialós* or *Kato Chora* as opposed to *Apáno Chora* or *Castro* (Upper Town).' First we are told that the town was 'anonymous,' and then it is inferred that it had several names which have persisted 'even to this day.' What is actually meant is that there were several small settlements so near to one another that after the additional building occasioned by the influx of Chians the settlements were fused into one town, which was collectively named Hermoupolis, the names of the settlements henceforth denoting districts of the town. Some discrepancies are also noticeable, for on page 56 'loss of considerable capital and of social position' are ascribed to have prompted the Chians to make a bid to free their island; on page 79, however, it is stated that the reason for this action was the decision of the Great Powers definitely to fix the frontiers of Greece, the State which they had decided to create. The real reason for the ill-fated expedition of Colonel Fabvier to free Chios in 1827, to which indirect reference is made, was that those parts of Greece which were in a state of insurrection stood a better chance of being included in the new free State than those whose activities had ceased.

P. P. A.

Venizelos, Patriot, Statesman, Revolutionary. By D. ALASTOS. Pp. ix + 304; pl. 1 + 2 maps. London: Percy Lund Humphries & Co., 1942. 12s. 6d.

This account of Venizelos is to be commended, because the author has based it on good sources of information, and particularly because, though he is an admirer of the Greek statesman, he is not, like many out-and-out partisans, blind to his defects. That Venizelos was an extraordinary

man, who made Modern Greece familiar to the world, cannot be denied. That he was an opportunist, who sometimes resorted to Machiavellian methods, can, on the other hand, hardly be contested. He was undoubtedly an ardent patriot, but he was obsessed by the idea of a 'Great Greece,' and his major triumph—The treaty of Sévres—was but a success on paper. Though he cannot be blamed directly for the disaster in Asia Minor which followed, there can be little doubt that his excessive territorial aspirations were indirectly responsible for it. It is probable that the reconciliation with Turkey in 1930 will be regarded by historians as his most lasting piece of statesmanship. Though he could, for the moment, sway foreign politicians by the magic of his personality and thus affect an important combination such as the Balkan Alliance of 1912, much of his work was soon undone.

As regards home affairs, Venizelos can scarcely be said to have been successful. There is perhaps something in a suggestion mentioned in this book—that as a Cretan born and bred and a natural revolutionary, he was never really happy in the political atmosphere of Greece. His quarrel with Prince George, as High Commissioner of Crete, was the beginning of his anti-Royalist attitude and sowed the seeds of a bountiful crop of troubles later on. The reputation of having been brought to power by foreign support in 1917 clung to him and engendered a bitterness never exceeded in all the bitterness of Greek politics. Add to this the fact that Venizelos never acquired the art of choosing his subordinates well. Finally the revolutionary of 1896 became the tragic figure of the rebellion of 1935. The sanity of his earlier revolutions had degenerated into the purposeless rising of a broken man.

Yet it would not be fair to close on this note. The times in which he lived were of extraordinary difficulty and he faced them with extraordinary courage. If we consider the reputation of Greece in 1897 and its reputation to-day in the midst of grievous calamity, it would not be amiss to attribute much of the high regard in which Greeks are held to the patriotic example of Venizelos. He will remain a great figure in the history of modern Greece in spite of errors and failures.

F. H. MARSHALL

A Short History of Modern Greece, 1821-1940.

By E. S. FORSTER. Pp. 237; 5 maps. London: Methuen, 1941. 12s. 6d.

The book is divided into three parts in accordance with the chief periods of the history of the modern Greek kingdom—namely, from the War of Independence to the outbreak of the first European War with a short chapter on Greece as a Turkish province; Greece during the European War of 1914-1918; and finally the period of 1918-1940, followed by a bibliography of works consulted and an index.

The whole work, the result of careful study, presents a very clear account of a somewhat involved history with the important events set out in high relief. It is a handy chronicle of reference and should prove useful to all who wish to obtain an insight to the development of the modern Greek State. Some may consider that references to certain events in contemporary and controversial periods are not as objective as they might have been, had the study been more extensive and detailed.

Professor Forster does not appear quite convinced as to the fallacy of the theory put forward by the German historian Fallermayer that the modern Greeks are 'an almost purely Slavonic race' (p. 214). The theory was based upon the fact that Greece was invaded by the Slavs in A.D. 577. In this connexion it is suitable to note that Imperial Russia in her political propaganda in Greece, where she maintained a russophil party, never so much as alluded to ties of affinity between the two races, ties of common religion being the corner-stone of that political edifice. We must hence deduce that the racial ties between Greeks and Slavs were known to the Teutonic race only and not to the Slavs themselves!

P. P. A.

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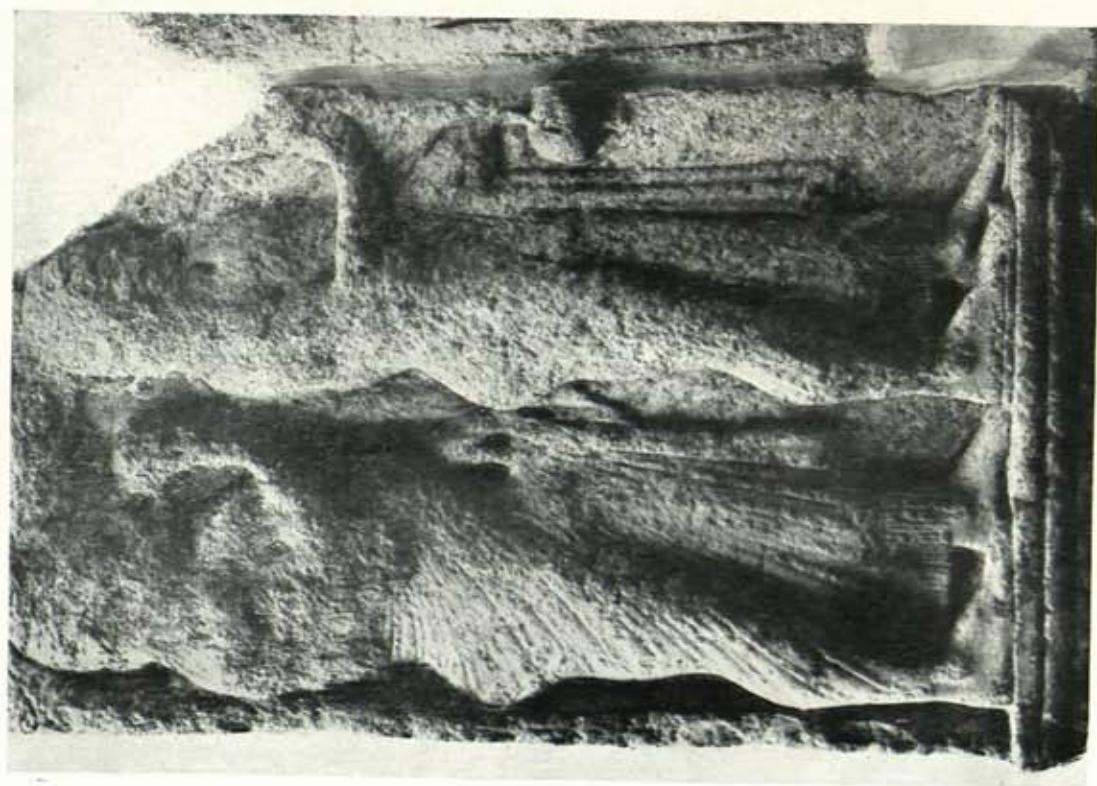
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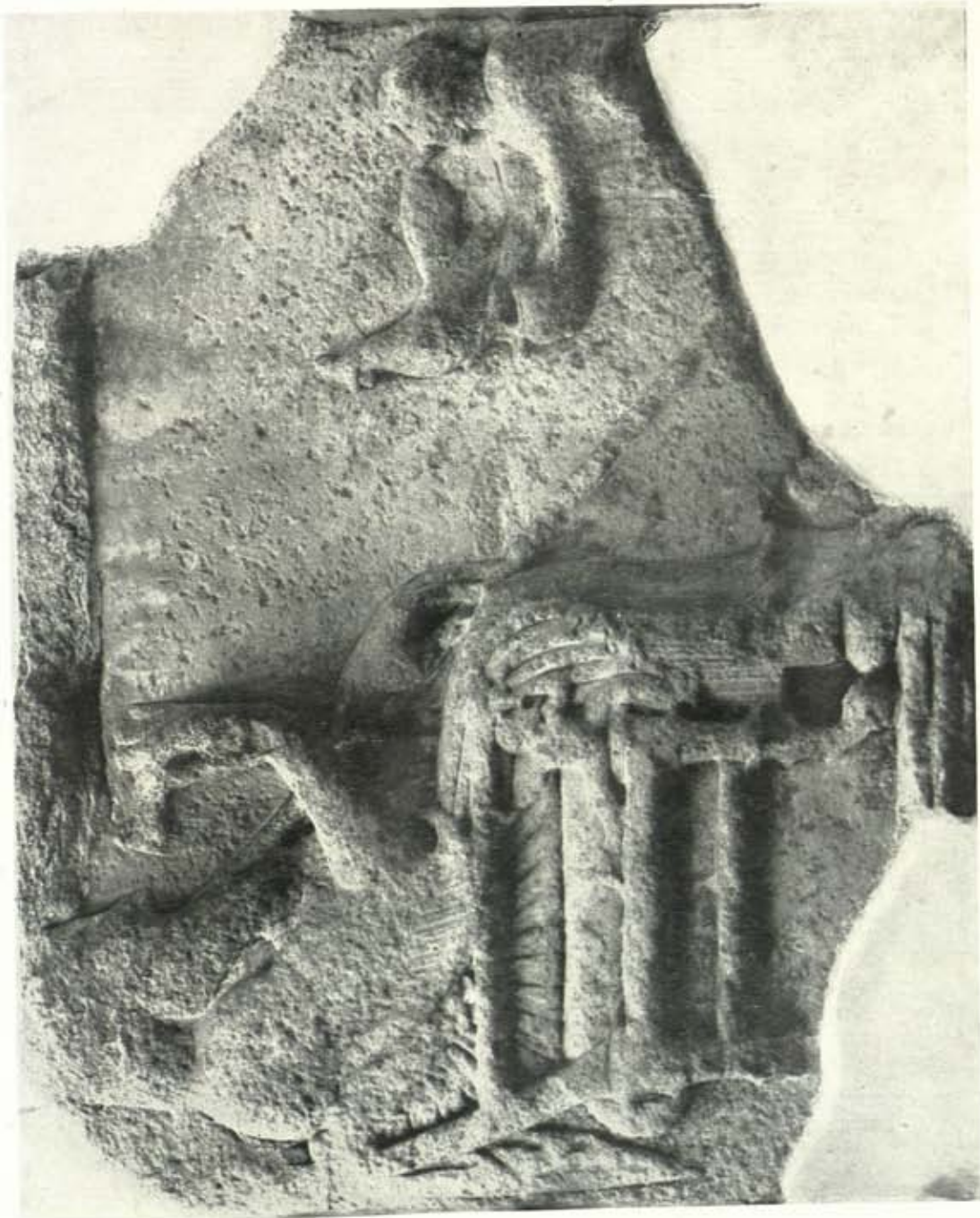
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THE HARRY TOMB: HEAD AND ARM OF RULER



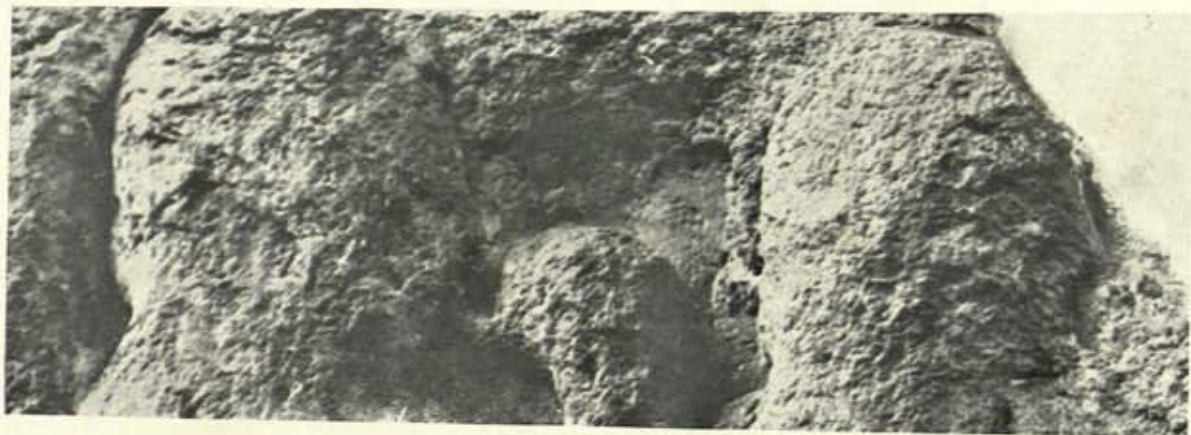
THE HARRY TOMB: END SLABS OF EAST SIDE



THE HARPY TOMB: CENTRAL SLAB OF EAST SIDE



c



a

b



d

THE HARPY TOMB: HEADS FROM EAST SIDE

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

50 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1941-42.

The Council beg leave to submit their report for the session now concluded:—

Finance.

The Accounts for the year 1941 again show a surplus of revenue over expenditure. This is largely due to the postponement of the publication of Vol. LXI of the *Journal*, though certain costs in the production of the previous volume were carried over into 1941. The letting of the second floor in the late summer does not yet appear to our advantage, owing to somewhat heavy expenses for dilapidations (part of which will eventually be repaid by the War Damage Commission). Insurance of the contents of the Library and Offices against enemy action was another heavy item during the year. Compensation has been received for books destroyed while on loan.

Membership on June 1st for the last three years was as follows:—

	Members.	Life Members.	Student Associates.	Libraries.	Total.
1940	994	146	170	340	1,650
1941	921	136	105	280	1,446
1942	830	134	83	232	1,280

Subscriptions have thus fallen by 166, as against 204 in the previous year. As the 1941 figure included Professor Meritt's 34 new members from America, this year's figure is not discouraging. American Libraries, too, are likely to renew their subscriptions when the *Journal* appears.

Obituary.

The Council record with great regret the deaths of two former Presidents, Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. A. Hamilton Smith, and of Dr. Pfuhl, who was Honorary Member of the Society, in addition to the following losses among members during the past session:—Miss A. E. Barlow, Mr. W. R. Collinson, Mr. R. Cooke, Sir Stafford Crossman, the Rev. R. E. E. Frampton, Mrs. E. Lamb, Sir George Macdonald, Sir P. J. Macdonell, Dame Emily Penrose, Lord Rennell of Rodd, Miss M. D. Rogers, Mr. N. Wedd, Prof. W. H. Woodward.

Among the war losses are Mr. J. D. Boyd (reported missing), F/O J. L. Halstead, and Capt. J. D. S. Pendlebury, who was killed in Crete after distinguished service in his country's cause.

Prisoners of War.

Capt. P. M. B. Savage, who is a prisoner of war in Germany, having sent home a request for 'The Bible, Shakespeare, Classical Texts and the *Hellenic Journal*,' it has been arranged to forward the *Journal* and surplus volumes of the Classics to him and other prisoners of war. Members who have texts for disposal can receive addresses by application to the Librarian.

Premises.

With the consent of the Bedford Estate, the second floor was let in July at a war-time rent of £145 per annum to Captain and Mrs. L. G. Struthers, both engaged on war work in London. There has been no further raid damage, and fire-watching has been maintained throughout the year by Miss Southan and our caretaker, Mrs. Jones, the latter as Group Leader in the Square patrol.

Presentation to Sir Arthur Evans.

On July 8th, the occasion of his 90th birthday, an address composed by Professor J. L. Myres and written on calf-skin in Chinese ink and English gold by Miss Margaret Hodgson of the Society of Scribes, was presented to Sir Arthur Evans by Professor Myres and Professor R. M. Dawkins. This was read to him then and several times again at his request during the three days' interval between his birthday and his death. The cost of the mounted scroll and case was borne by Mr. Christian Doll, in memory of his association with Sir Arthur's work at Knossos. A photograph of the inscription will be found at the end of this Report.

Joint Meeting of the Hellenic and Roman Societies.

A Committee was appointed in November by the Councils of the two Societies to organise a meeting (to which the Classical Association was invited) to be held at Oxford in the week August 29th to September 5th, 1942, under the Presidency of Professor Gilbert Murray.

Administration.

The following members of Council retire under Rule 19:—Mr. W. L. Cuttle, Prof. J. F. Dobson, Mr. G. G. Hardie, Miss W. Lamb, Mr. D. L. Page, Mr. F. H. Sandbach, Prof. P. N. Ure, Prof. H. T. Wade-Gery, Prof. E. H. Warmington and Prof. T. B. L. Webster.

The Council have nominated for election as members of their body for the next three years:—Mr. R. D. Barnett, Mr. R. M. Cook, Prof. E. R. Dodds, Miss M. Hartley, Miss N. C. Jolliffe, Lady Nicholson, Dr. F. Saxl, Mr. T. C. Skeat, Mr. G. A. D. Tait and Mr. A. M. Woodward.

A vacancy having occurred with the death of Dr. Pfuhl, the Council have nominated for election as Honorary Member of the Society Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a subscribing member for many years.

The Council have pleasure in announcing that Sir George Hill has been re-elected to the Standing Committee in place of Miss W. Lamb, who retires in rotation.

The Council thank their Honorary Member, Mr. C. T. Edge, M.A., F.C.A., for acting as auditor, and have pleasure in nominating him for re-election.

Sir John Forsdyke has been good enough to take over the Editorship of the *Journal* on the enlistment of Mr. Denys Haynes in the Royal Artillery. Vol. LXI is expected to appear in the early autumn.

Meetings.

The following communications have been made during the session:—

November 4th, 1941. Prof. J. L. Myres at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, on 'The Life and Work of Sir Arthur Evans.'

February 3rd, 1942. Prof. E. H. Minns at the Literary Lecture Rooms, Cambridge, on 'Greek Plate from East European Hoards.'

May 5th, 1942. Mr. C. T. Seltman at Burlington House on 'Greek Sculpture and some Festival Coins.'

June 23rd, 1942. Dr. Pickard-Cambridge (Presidential Address) on 'The Athenian Theatre in the fifth century B.C.'

The Joint Library.

The following figures show the work done during the last three sessions:—

Library.

	1939-40.	1940-1.	1941-2.
Books added	377	384	137
Books borrowed ..	3,058	1,513	1,698
Borrowers	551	307	251

Slide Collections.

	209	104	58
Slides added	209	104	58
Slides borrowed ..	3,146	2,409	2,387
Slides sold	278	71	27

The drop in the number of books added to our collection was, of course, to be expected in the present state of the book trade, but the number of those borrowed shows an encouraging advance on last year's figure. The number of slides borrowed has also been fairly well maintained.

Additions made during the year include:—*Athenian Studies* presented to W. S. Ferguson, the first supplementary volume to the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Trevelyan's *Goethe and the Greeks*, Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Forster's *Short History of Modern Greece*, Argenti's *Chiusi Vineta* and Starr's *The Roman Imperial Navy*. Among works on philosophy are Cornford's translation of Plato's *Republic*, Robinson's *Plato's Earlier Dialectic*, Shute's *The Psychology of Aristotle*. On Science, Heidel's *Hippocratic Medicine*. Archaeology is represented by the tenth volume of *Excavations at Olynthus* by D. M. Robinson and Vol. 64 of *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*. Publications on Art include Swift's *Hagia Sophia* and Goldscheider's *Etruscan Sculpture* in the Phaidon Edition. Among the contributions to Numismatics are the third parts of volume iii of *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Milne's *Colophon and its Coinage* and Mosser's *Endicott Gift of Greek and Roman Coins* in the American Numismatic Society's *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*. In Epigraphy there is part xviii of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. The weekly Greek newspaper 'Hellas' is the only new periodical taken this year.

Reciprocal loans arranged with the National Central Library were again useful. The Joint Library lent 33 books and borrowed 23.

The Councils of the Hellenic and Roman Societies wish to express their thanks for gifts of books from the following:—

Authors: Mr. P. Corder, Mr. N. J. DeWitt, Mr. G. M. Fitzgerald, Mr. G. Kazarow, Mr. L. Nyikos, Mr. E. W. Palm, Mr. A. S. Pease, Mr. L. J. D. Richardson, Mr. C. A. Roebuck, Prof. W. B. Stanford, Sir Aurel Stein, Dr. P. Treves, Mr. R. P. Wright.

Donors of other books: Mr. J. W. Baggally, Mrs. R. S. Conway, the late Rev. R. E. E. Frampton, Mr. G. T. Griffith, Miss M. V. Taylor.

The Presses of the following Universities: Aberdeen, Budapest, Cambridge, Colombia, Cornell, Dublin, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Nebraska, Oxford.

Institutions and Associations: American Numismatic Society, American Philological Association, American School at Athens, Egypt Exploration Society, Government of India, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, Seafarers' Education Service, Government of Turkey.

The two Councils wish to record their appreciation of the help given by Mrs. E. B. Culley, who has continually stepped into the breach when the staff was short-handed, by Miss Alford, who has recorded incoming periodicals, and by Miss F. E. Bramley and Mme. Chicoteau, who have occasionally assisted in the Library.

The thanks of the Councils are due to Mrs. R. S. Conway and Mr. E. S. G. Robinson for gifts to the photographic collections.

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS NINETIETH BIRTHDAY

THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY
FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES
OFFER TO THEIR EX-PRESIDENT

SIR ARTHUR JOHN EVANS

FRU, F.B.A., F.S.A., D.LITT., ETC.

THEIR CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES
FOR CONTINUANCE OF HEALTH & HAPPINESS.

They recall with gratitude and admiration his exceptional contributions to learning, his early association with his distinguished father SIR JOHN EVANS in the discovery of human handiwork in the river gravels of the Somme, his exploration of Roman and Medieval Illyria, his numismatic studies, especially in regard to the Hoenen of Tarentum and the Syracusan Medallions, and his investigation of Celtic and Italic antiquity.

They recall his memorable Keepership of the Ashmolean Museum, which transformed it into a vigorous & famous centre of archaeological research, & his own magnificent additions to its treasures.

More especially they honour him as the explorer of the Minoan civilization of Crete, the discoverer of its script, the interpreter of its cults, the excavator for many years of the Palace of Knossos, & the founder there of a permanent home for Cretan studies.

Above all they delight in commemorating his never-failing inspiration and encouragement to all workers in these wide fields, his initiative and wise counsel in the advancement of learning and research on many occasions, and his lifelong and strenuous devotion to the cause of freedom in thought and in action.

1941. 1941.

Edmund & Margaret

Evans

SCROLL PRESENTED TO SIR ARTHUR EVANS ON HIS NINETIETH BIRTHDAY, JULY 8TH, 1941.

The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1941, TO DECEMBER 31, 1941.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Salaries.....	447 2 2	By Members' Subscriptions—	
" Pensions Insurance.....	16 0 0	Arrears.....	22 1 0
" Miscellaneous Expenses.....	112 12 8	1941.....	1083 13 6
" Stationery.....	10 5 11		1105 14 6
" Postage.....	46 15 1	Members' Entrance Fees.....	11 11 0
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, etc.....	64 4 8	" Student Associates' Subscriptions—	
" Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, Maintenance of Library Premises, etc.....	341 14 2	Arrears.....	5 15 6
" (including second floor dilapidations and war damage repairs throughout).		1941.....	25 14 0
" Insurance—			31 9 6
General.....	24 18 4	Libraries' Subscriptions—	
War Damage.....	198 16 8	Arrears.....	2 2 0
Less amounts recovered.....	107 10 9	1941.....	144 18 0
			147 0 0
Grants—		" Life Compositions brought into Revenue	
British School at Athens.....	10 0 0	Account.....	63 0 0
" " Rome.....	5 5 0	Dividends on Investments.....	114 13 10
		" Contributed by the Society for Promotion of	
" Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies'		Roman Studies.....	275 0 0
Account.....	40 19 1	Sale of 'Ante Oculos'.....	2 19 0
Balance from Library Account.....	4 7 9	" Sale of 'Artemis Orthia'.....	2 18 1
" Balance from Library Premises Account...	360 7 9	Miscellaneous Receipts.....	7 19 11
" Balance.....	323 9 3	" Donations towards current expenses.....	13 4 8
		" Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo-	
		graphs Account.....	123 15 3
		" Donation from Arch. Inst. of America.....	
			£1899 7 9

Dr. 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1941, TO DECEMBER 31, 1941. Cr.			
	£	s.	d.
To Postage on Vol. LX	74	3	9
" Drawing and Engraving	—	—	—
" Editing and Reviews	—	—	—
By Sales, including back Vols.— Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.	33	4	8
" Hellenic Society	—	—	—
Receipts from Advertisements	33	4	8
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	40	19	1
	£74	3	9

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1941, TO DECEMBER 31, 1941.			
	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale	1	12	9
" Slides for Hire	16	0	—
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	13	4	8
	£15	13	5

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. PURCHASES AND BINDING. FROM JANUARY 1, 1941, TO DECEMBER 31, 1941.			
	£	s.	d.
To Purchases	6	13	2
" Binding	3	8	9
" Cost of printing Accessions Lists to the Library, and Slides Departments, less contribution from the Roman Society	13	12	2
	£23	14	1

LIBRARY PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1941.			
	£	s.	d.
Rent	402	12	6
Rates	51	8	7
Transferred from Balance Sheet—Proportion of Expenditure for Year	23	0	0
	£477	1	1

I have audited the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account and in my opinion the same exhibit a true and correct view of the Society's financial position according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

LONDON,
June 2, 1942.
CYRIL T. EDGE,
Chartered Accountant.



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